

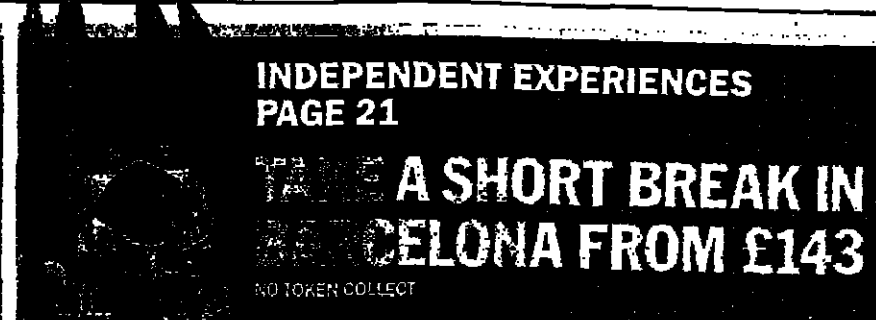
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TIME - 1997



INDEPENDENT EXPERIENCES  
PAGE 21

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## Labour pardon for war 'cowards'

Anthony Bevins and  
Steve Boggan

More than 300 British soldiers executed during the First World War for cowardice, desertion and other battlefield offences could be pardoned by the end of the year in a Labour review of their cases.

John Reid, Minister for the Armed Forces, told *The Independent* that he was re-examining their cases in the light of strong evidence that many of the men were suffering from mental illness - primarily post-traumatic stress disorder - brought on by the horrors of the war.

That view was supported yesterday by the Royal British Legion which voted unanimously at its annual conference to pardon the soldiers shot for cowardice "in the light of current med-

ieval; and the Salerno Mutiny was cited as the next campaign to come.

But Mr Mackinlay told *The Independent* yesterday that the common denominator for the victims of the Great War was that they were all denied the rules of natural justice.

"None of them had an opportunity to prepare a defence, some of them were not legally represented, but the representation in many cases was limited, and none of them was given an opportunity to appeal against sentence of death. That is the justification for a blanket pardon."

Documents suppressed for 75 years reveal heart-rending cases, many involving soldiers as young as 19, being executed after cursory courts martial, often lasting just 20 minutes. One 19-year-old who complained of "feeling queer" on his way to the front, went missing for less than 20 hours before being found asleep in a barn. He was shot three weeks later.

One 26-year-old was executed for cowardice despite having spent five months in hospital recovering from shell-shock. The records of many appear to show that men who deserted were simply wandering around in terrible states of confusion. They also reveal tragedies such as that of Sgt Joe Stones who, caught in a German ambush while on patrol, wedged his non-functioning rifle across a narrow trench to slow down the pursuers; he was shot at dawn for "casting away his arms". Corporals John McDonald and Peter Goggins, enabled to escape by Sgt Stones' action, were later charged with quitting their posts.

Mr Mackinlay said the Salerno Mutiny argument was a red herring, as no pardon was being sought for mutineers, and none of the mutineers was actually executed.

When he moved an amendment to the Armed Forces Bill on 9 May 1996, opening the way for a pardon for the 307 executed soldiers, he was supported on a free vote by Dr Reid, eight members of the current Cabinet and Nick Brown, now Government Chief Whip.

The eight Cabinet Ministers are: Margaret Beckett, President of the Board of Trade; David Clark, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster; Alastair Darling, Chief Secretary to the Treasury; Donald Dewar, Secretary of State for Scotland; Frank Dobson, Secretary of State for Health; Clare Short, Secretary of State for International Development; Chris Smith, Secretary of State for National Heritage; and Jack Straw, the Home Secretary.

At its annual conference in Bournemouth, the Royal British Legion's 600 delegates passed a motion, already adopted by its National Council, to call for a pardon, and to "call upon the National Council to bring renewed pressure on Her Majesty's Government to take this action."

The scared young men, page 5



Corporal Peter Goggins: Shot for cowardice after escaping an ambush

ical evidence". A spokesman said last night that the legion now planned to lobby the Government and the Ministry of Defence to pardon the men as soon as possible.

Dr Reid and more than one-third of the new Cabinet voted for the pardon process in the Commons a year ago, when the Conservative government beat off a legislative amendment moved by Andrew Mackinlay, Labour MP for Thurrock.

Mr Mackinlay has now tabled a Commons motion, which is expected to get the support of hundreds of MPs across the House, arguing "that the vast majority of the 307 executed were as patriotic and brave as their million other compatriots who perished in the conflict ... Their misfortune was brought about due to stress, or the stress of their accusers, during battle, and that even if the behaviour of a small minority may have fallen below that of the highest standards, then time, compassion and justice dictates that all these soldiers should now be treated as victims of the conflict."

The "Yes, Minister" argument being put against Mr Mackinlay's plea from within the Ministry of Defence is that if a blanket pardon were given, some soldiers who were guilty could be included; that a review of First World War courts martial could reopen demands for a review of other courts



Up tails all: One of 100,000 plastic ducks that went a dabbling in the river Avon at Bath yesterday - competing in the world's largest ever bath duck race. The ducks were backed for £1 each, with a trip to Iceland as the prize for the winner, and the losers seeing their money go to WaterAid, a charity that provides clean water and sanitation in developing countries

## Straw to put more bobbies on the beat

Katherine Butler  
Brussels  
Anthony Bevins  
London

Thousands of policemen will be moved away from their desks and put back on the beat, Jack Straw, the Home Secretary, promised last night.

Mr Straw was responding to the International Crime Victimisation Survey, which showed yesterday that people in England and Wales are more at risk from burglary and car theft than those in any other industrialised Western nation. They also face the same risk of physical attack as people in the United States.

Mr Straw did not dispute the findings of the survey, which was conducted in 1996. "It is a shocking and startling fact but England and Wales have the worst record on car crime, burglary and gratuitous violence," he said.

Mr Straw blamed what he called 18 years of Tory complacency on rising crime, particularly among juveniles. He ruled out the recruitment of more police officers owing to Labour's commitment to stick to Tory expenditure limits until the end of 1999. Instead, he vowed to exploit existing resources more effectively by sweeping away red tape and timewasting paperwork.

"What I want to see is more police officers released for police work, by attacking bureaucracy," he said. The hands of the police must be untied to tackle the causes of crime, such as neighbourhood disorder and juvenile offences, particularly where children under 15 are concerned. "That is my number-one priority," Mr Straw said.

He stressed the need for an overhaul of the Crown Prosecution Service with the appointment of District Attorneys in England and Wales.

"What this survey confirmed is what I had been saying for the last two years as Shadow Home Secretary ... that between 1987 and 1996, the rise in crime in England and Wales was greater than in any of 16 Western countries," he said.

Mr Straw, attending his first meeting of European Union justice and home affairs ministers in Brussels, emphasised the new Government's willingness for greater co-operation on fighting crime but rejected proposals for a European police force along the lines of the FBI.

The Home Secretary repeated the Government's refusal to surrender control over passport controls at airports and ports, as well as immigration and asylum policy. Thirteen of the 15 member states want the new EU treaty due to be signed in Amsterdam next month to allow intensified co-operation over these areas, including giving Brussels power to initiate legislation for the first time.

The Liberal Democrat spokesman Alan Beith exploited the new crime figures to back his party's demand for more police officers. "In the face of new figures confirming the extent of crime and the fear of crime, the Government still refuses to put resources into appointing extra police officers on the streets."

"Labour is still too locked into its pre-election rhetoric to face up to the reality that the thin blue line needs strengthening."

Michael Howard, the former Home Secretary, said the figures had to be treated with caution.

## French PM agrees to fall on his épée



John Lichfield  
Paris

Prime Minister Alain Juppé last night exploded all calculations in the French parliamentary elections by announcing that he would quit his job if his centre-right coalition was the second round on Sunday.

The announcement was intended to take the wind out of the sails of the Socialists and other left-wing parties, who unexpectedly won the first round last Sunday with 42 per cent of

the vote. Mr Juppé is desperately unpopular and his departure may bring out tens of thousands of voters who spoiled their ballots at the weekend.

But the - in effect - resignation of a prime minister in the midst of an election campaign is unprecedented and unquestionably destabilising. The nation's desperate hunt for President Jacques Chirac, Mr Juppé's long-term mentor and boss in the Gaullist RPR party, will be

seen behind the decision. It may alienate some voters, already angered by the President's decision to bring the election forward for tactical reasons.

Mr Juppé made the announcement at the opening of a post-mortem meeting last night of the campaign committee of the RPR and its coalition partner, the UDF alliance of small centre and rightist parties.

"In the new challenge ahead, we will need a new team, led by a new prime minister," he said. "I will continue

the [electoral] battle to the end and then I will consider that my task has been completed."

Just before the committee meeting, Mr Juppé made a visit to President Chirac, in the greatest of secrecy, at the Elysée Palace.

Speculation on a possible successor - provided the centre-right wins - began instantly. A formal announcement before the election would further mangle constitutional propriety but officially-inspired leaks are likely.

The front-runners will be Philippe Séguin, another leading figure in the RPR who was president of the outgoing parliament and a partially reformed EMU-sceptic, and François Bayrou, education minister and rising star of the UDF.

Outside possibilities might be the former prime minister, Edouard Balladur, or some semi-political figure from a state-owned enterprise.

The sacrifice, page 10  
Comment, page 17

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**Hope for nurses**  
The man who holds the fate of two British nurses in his hands, hanged yesterday, has not ruled out asking a Saudi court to spare them from being beheaded.

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## significant shorts

## Airport protesters jubilant as supplies arrive by night

Jubilant protesters on the site of Manchester Airport's proposed £172m second runway say they are equipped to resist eviction for several more weeks following an audacious re-supply operation carried out under cover of darkness yesterday.

Security officials policing the fenced-in site were caught unawares by a group of campaigners who sailed through defences and into the camp by using dinghies and canoes on the River Bollin.

The opposing sides in the conservation dispute disagreed about the effectiveness of the operation last night, but it was clear from protesters living in tree-houses that they had received fresh supplies of food, water, medical items and batteries to power mobile telephones and CB radios. Some campaigners claimed that the boats had also been used to land up to 50 new protesters on the existing sites, but this was denied by a spokesman for Randal Hibbert, the under-sheriff of Cheshire responsible for the eviction.

Credit for the raid was claimed by an organisation calling itself the Sea Sabs Marine Conservation Group. Three of the seven camps have now been cleared of protesters. According to the under-sheriff's spokesman, about 35-40 protesters remained on site. The protesters put that figure at up to 150. **Steve Boggan**

## Glorious sunshine, and roads misery

Britain basked in the sunshine yesterday as temperatures soared up to 21C, giving the country its warmest Whitsun Bank Holiday weekend for five years.

But the heat did nothing to alleviate the misery of motorists caught in a series of traffic jams which brought chaos to many areas of Britain. The worst delay was in Staffordshire where the M6 was closed after a military tanker overturned, covering the motorway with hundreds of gallons of aviation fuel. Fire services immediately closed the carriageway in both directions. A five-vehicle pile-up on the A48 near Carmarthen, Dyfed, which resulted in 12 minor injuries, including seven to children, also caused severe disruption. Yesterday's incident follows the death of a six-month-old baby in a crash in North Wales on Sunday. **James Mellor**

## Britain rejoins development agency

Britain is to rejoin the international development organisation Unesco in the next five weeks, the Government announced yesterday.

The announcement reverses the Tory government's decision 12 years ago to withdraw from the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation. The new Government disclosed in the Queen's Speech two weeks ago that it would rejoin, but had not set a date. The announcement that Britain would join by 1 July was made by Secretary of State for International Development Clare Short (left) at an executive meeting of Unesco. She said in the statement, delivered by aide Tony Bazeley,

that Britain wanted to take part in the organisation's aid to poor countries. Unesco is an autonomous agency of the United Nations, based in Paris. It aims to promote learning, preserve the world's heritage and exchange ideas and information between nations.

## No change in surrogacy law

A change in the law on surrogacy, effectively banning surrogate motherhood in return for the payment of expenses, is most unlikely, Whitehall sources indicated last night. While contract-based commercial surrogacy is illegal in Britain, questions have been raised about the alleged payment of expenses in excess of £10,000 to "host" mothers.

A Department of Health spokesman said yesterday: "If there is anything that comes to light that gives us concern, we will have a look at the existing law to see if it is adequate." But he stressed there was no presumption in favour of tightening legislation. Ruth Deitch, chairwoman of the Human Embryology and Fertilisation Authority, said recently that she thought the existing law was sound, although there may be some concern about people taking the payment of expenses too far. **Anthony Bevilacqua**

## Farm-hand held over mother's death

A farm worker charged with murdering his elderly mother was remanded in custody when he appeared in court yesterday. Magistrates at Yeovil, Somerset, remanded Peter Pitman, 46, of Priory Farm, Charlton Mackrell, near Somerset, until Thursday. Mr Pitman lived at the farm with his 75-year-old mother Janet, who suffered from rheumatoid arthritis. The body of Mrs Pitman, who had been shot, was found in a field near her home on Friday.

## Bogus guard walks off with £50,000

A man posing as a security guard walked off with more than £50,000 in a daring daylight raid on a motorway service station, police said yesterday.

The raider, who was not thought to be armed, walked into the Granada service station on the M4 at Chieveley near Reading, Berkshire, on Sunday, and was allowed into the room where the safe was housed. He then handcuffed and gagged two women cashiers before snatching two days' worth of takings from the safe. The two women were said to be badly shocked but unhurt. No one from Granada was available to discuss the raid.

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## people



Unreleased tapes of the young Bob Marley could fetch millions Photograph: Partridge and Storey

## Marley's unknown legend that could sell for £60m

Previously unreleased tracks by the late reggae singer Bob Marley, have been put up for sale for £60m by his former producer.

Danny Sims, who signed Marley to his JAD record label between 1969 and 1971 before the legendary Jamaican switched to the Island stable, has the rights to 200 tracks produced by the artist.

"Bob has surpassed being just a music legend," said Mr Sims. "He has become a leader of a worldwide musical faith kept alive by his family, those who love the man and his music and the sheer originality and quality of his voice and songs."

Marley, nicknamed the Poor Man's Pope because so many of his songs preached revolution and freedom from oppression, was born in 1945, the son of a British army captain and a Jamaican woman.

Brought up in Kingston, he worked as an electrical welder before forming a reggae group, Bob Marley and the Wailers in 1963. Hits such as "No Woman, No Cry" and "I Shot The Sheriff" catapulted the band to fame

and made Marley an influential political voice.

In 1976 he narrowly escaped an assassination attempt which left his wife, Rita, seriously injured. Five years later the committed Rastafarian died from cancer in Miami at the age of 36.

In recent years re-releases of Marley's music have enjoyed success in the British charts and, with the news that a session by Paul McCartney and John Lennon made after the Beatles had split could be worth £2m, Sims is expecting multi-million pound bids for the tapes.

Included amongst the tracks are solo compositions by Marley, early versions of Wailers' hits and cover versions of songs by American artists such as James Brown.

Jeremy Collingwood, President of the British Marley Appreciation Society, believes the discovery of new material is significant. He said: "There are many gems amongst these tapes. It could be thought of as the equivalent of discovering a roomful of early Picassos."

**James Mellor**

## Woman bomber takes aim at rough justice

Kelly Flinn, the US air force's first female B52 pilot, has spoken publicly for the first time since she decided to save herself and the US air force further embarrassment by accepting a general discharge from the armed forces.

Interviewed by *Time* magazine, she said she would probably "throw some outdoor gear in the Jeep, put the top down, get myself a dog and go".

She is still at the air force base at Minot, North Dakota, where procedures for her departure are expected to take up to 10 days.

Ms Flinn said she was fully prepared to be disciplined for her admitted adultery and disobedience, but felt that her case should have been handled outside the military judicial system.

She said she had been hoping for a sanction that could have included a fine, a reprimand, demotion or transfer. "Then," she said, "I could salute smartly, get Marc Zigo [her lover] the hell out of my life and move on."

Instead, she found herself facing up to nine years in prison, in a case that inflamed American opinion and prompted awkward questions about whether men and women in the US armed forces were really treated equally.

Along with giving her side of the story to *Time*, Ms Flinn had to suffer the indignity of seeing made



public facsimile extracts from some of her love letters to Mr Zigo (who was not only married but wanted for wife-battering). The letters, reportedly found and "shared with" the magazine by Mr Zigo's former wife, Gayla, were written in childish handwriting and ended: "I'll love you always, Kelly."

Of her disastrous relationship with Mr Zigo, Ms Flinn joked to *Time* that the next person she decided to go out with "is going to have to be fingerprinted and have a full background check".

Described by her family as "emotionally and physically exhausted", Ms Flinn told the magazine: "I've lost my innocence, and I've lost my ability to trust people." She said she hoped people in the air force would "think of people as human beings and realise they are subject to human mistakes and human errors. I hope that ... people will reconsider how they should apply punishment".

**Mary Dejevsky, Washington**

## McAliskey gives birth to daughter

Roisin McAliskey, on remand in connection with the IRA attack last year on a British Army barracks in Osnabrück, Germany, gave birth to a baby girl yesterday while under armed guard in hospital. However, Ms McAliskey's mother, the former MP Bernadette Devlin, said no members of the security service were present at the birth.

The delivery came three days after Ms McAliskey was taken to the Whittington Hospital, north London, from her prison cell in nearby Holloway prison. Ms McAliskey, who suffers from asthma, made the short trip on Friday with an escort of armed police following a court hearing. The baby was then two days overdue.

A spokesman for the Roisin McAliskey campaign said yesterday: "She has had the baby. It is a 5lb 13oz girl. I gather it was quite a long labour and Roisin is very tired, but they are both fine."

A spokeswoman for Whittington Hospital said later that "both mother and baby are doing well".

Ms McAliskey has been held on remand in Holloway while fighting extradition to Germany in connection with last summer's attack.

Despite the campaign over her pregnancy and asthma, she had been refused bail until Friday.

The hospital's chief executive Jane Perrin confirmed at the weekend that there would be a "police presence" and strengthened security during Ms McAliskey's stay.

**Matthew Brace**

## briefing

## SPENDING

## The shopper of 2001: older, richer and more discerning

The average British shopper in 2001 will be richer, older and more picky than today and will prefer out-of-town malls to the high street, new research says.

A report by retail researchers Verdict on consumer demand in 2001 concludes that there will be a fundamental shift in patterns shopping and income distribution over the next five years. A slight fall in the birth rate 30 years ago together with higher youth unemployment means that by 2001 there will be fewer people in their twenties with less to spend than there are today. Older people will have the greatest spending power, benefiting from inherited wealth, building society windfall gains and insurance company rotations. The report concludes that consumers over the next five years will be much more demanding and will want to shop around - at major shopping centres rather than secondary high streets.

Verdict says the boom markets in retail over the next five years will be electrical products, driven by computer games, software and accessories. Television sales will be boosted by the advent of digital technology and mail order and sportswear will show strong growth and consumers will switch back to brands. Childrenswear and food sales will show the weakest growth. **Sameena Ahmed**

## EDUCATION

## Teachers overawed by computers



Many teachers lack confidence in new technology and are insufficiently trained to teach the national curriculum in information technology, a new survey of school heads has found. Eighty per cent of headteachers questioned for BBC2's *Computers Don't Bite* programme broadcast last night, said teachers lacked confidence in using computers, and 68 per cent said staff did not know enough about information technology to teach it for the national curriculum - 57 per cent said this of even newly qualified teachers. The survey supported findings by Ofsted, the schools inspectorate, which suggested that standards in information technology were weaker than all other subjects.

Nigel De Gruchy, general secretary of the National Association of Schoolmasters/Union Women Teachers, said: "[Teachers] are expected to become subject specialists in a whole range of areas overnight and they are just not prepared." He believed that a government-funded centrally co-ordinated training system was needed to bring teachers up to date.

Pre-school campaigners are urging the Government to harmonise regulations covering services from nannies to nursery schools. Ministers say they aim to promote better integration between child care and pre-school education, as part of plans to expand nursery schooling. But the Daycare Trust said that expansion should not be at the expense of quality. Services from birth to the beginning of statutory school age were currently dogged by a proliferation of inconsistent regulations, it said.

## INDUSTRY

## Rural firms neglected

The survival of very small rural businesses could be under threat unless the Government takes action to provide better advice and resources, the Country Landowners Association (CLA) and the Federation of Small Businesses (FSB) have claimed. Rural firms with fewer than 10 staff were receiving "less and less attention", and the CLA said were "even excluded" from the Business Links support structure for smaller firms. The "serious" cutback in Rural Development Commission services had also reduced its support. The CLA and FSB said they would be taking their concerns to ministers at the Department of Trade and Industry.

## HOUSING

## Worst estates due for demolition

Billions of pounds of local council capital for housing should be carefully targeted at Britain's most run-down estates, a new report says today. The money should be steered towards re-developing "the very worst properties", according to the Institute for Public Policy Research think-tank. And it said such redevelopment would mean knocking down and rebuilding some estates. The Government is committed to releasing £5bn of local council capital receipts for building new housing and renovating existing stock.

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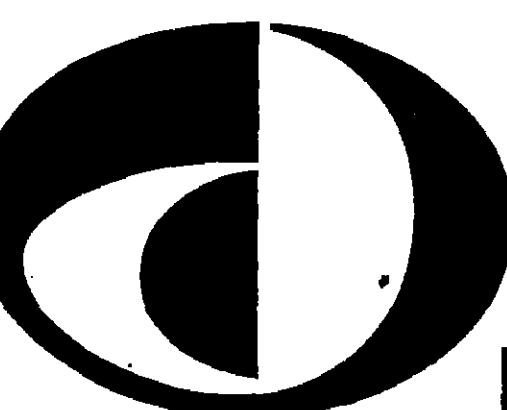


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## DIRECT Debit

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Laid bare: Mark Banks's latest stained glass creation *The Last Supper*, with Jesus and the Disciples represented by teddy bears – a recurring theme in his work Below: The artist in his workshop

Photographs: David Rose

## Today's the day the teddy bears have their Last Supper

Kathy Marks

Mark Banks wipes the final specks of cement off his latest creation, a portrayal in stained glass of the Last Supper in which Jesus and the Disciples are represented as bears.

This type of subversion of the religious imagery traditionally associated with stained glass led one London gallery to reject his work as too controversial when he was looking for a place to exhibit. But for Mr Banks, who has decided to cock a snook at the established art world by staging his own exhibition, it is emblematic of his fresh approach to a centuries-old art form. The bears, recurring figures in his work, appear not just in religious settings, but also in bars and nightclubs, where they drink and smoke.

"I wanted to alter the public conception of stained glass, to take it out of the church context and make it appeal to a wider audience," he says.

In *The Last Supper*, his largest and most intricate pane, the Disciples

lounge around a table wearing expressions that range from piety to boredom. One has his paw stuck in a jar of honey; a second has just spilt his wine. In another window, a Nativity scene is again peopled by bears.

If the work is unusual, then so is Mr Banks's background. Born with Treacher Collins Syndrome, a rare genetic condition resulting in severe facial deformity, he spent most of his childhood and early adulthood in hospitals undergoing surgery to rebuild his features. The disability, he believes, has given him an profound appreciation of natural beauty.

The tapes of rock music that sustained him through the endless rounds of operations also inspired another leitmotif that runs through his art. Elvis Presley, Buddy Holly, John Lennon and Bob Marley are among the performers that he has portrayed.

Mr Banks, 32, who works out of two sheds at the bottom of his garden in Chingford, north-east London, had creative leanings as a child but failed

his art O-level twice. His enthusiasm was re-ignited by a visit in 1987 to Presley's Graceland mansion in Memphis, which features a collection of elaborately painted windows. "Something just clicked," he says.

On his return, he set about teaching himself the art and craft of stained glass. The bears theme, he says, occurred to him in a dream in which he visualised two tarty-looking female bears in mini-skirts, stockings and high heels. He reproduced the image in a work he calls *Bear Burns*.

While the exhibition at Gallery Forty-Seven in July is Mr Banks's first attempt to gain commercial recognition, he has managed to interest a number of celebrities in his art. He has made a window for Uri Geller featuring crystals and bent spoons, and one for Emma Thompson, the actress, which includes an enormous Oscar figurine.

"There's something magical about working with glass," he says. "It's a unique art form."



## Legal delay may halt abortion plan

Steve Boggan

Lawyers representing a father who is trying to prevent his estranged wife from aborting their baby have been told that the House of Lords cannot hear his case until next Monday – when she will be more than 15 weeks pregnant.

The delay, due to the Whit holidays, could be significant because Lynne Kelly revealed yesterday that she may go through with the birth if the case continues to drag on.

James Kelly, 28, Edinburgh, has lost at every step on the way to the Lords, but an order is still in place preventing Mrs Kelly from having a termination. After Mr Kelly lost his case at the Court of Appeal, it was assumed that the Lords would sit soon afterwards. But Wendy Sheehan, Mr Kelly's solicitor, said yesterday: "The House of Lords, both the clerks and the court itself,

is closed this week. But the clerk's office is prepared to open this Wednesday at 10am for us to lodge the petition."

The date that has been pencilled in to hear the case is Monday next week. It has yet to be confirmed. They simply could not convene five law lords and clerks and court staff before Monday.

The delay could have an influence over 21-year-old Mrs Kelly's decision to abort or proceed with the pregnancy. She told the *Daily Record* newspaper yesterday: "The way things are just now I will carry on with the abortion. But if the matter is delayed further by the courts, then I may have to reconsider."

Smoking a cigarette, she added: "When I first went to see the doctors, they told me I had got there at the right time. But more than a week has now passed, so that starts to leave questions in my mind. If the case goes to the House of Lords, who

knows when it will be heard? That could make the difference of me having to have a labour-induced termination – and that is something I would have very strong doubts about."

David Paimtin, a retired gynaecologist and chairman of the Birth Control Trust, said the delay of an extra week did not represent a significant increase in the complications. He said the type of abortion favoured by Mrs Kelly could be safely performed up to 18 weeks.

"Abortion is legal up to 24 weeks. From an ethical and medical point of view, there is no problem up until that point. But, for the woman, it becomes more prolonged and uncomfortable. At 14 weeks there is twice the risk of complications than at, say six or eight weeks. But this risk is still only two per thousand... I would be more concerned about the protracted uncertainty and anxiety."

Mrs Kelly was in hiding last night with representatives of the *Daily Record* and *The Mirror*, but her uncle, Willie Falconer, said that the family had been shocked by revelations in court that Mr Kelly was convicted of assaulting her last year.

"How would you feel if it were your sister or your niece that was getting beaten up?" he said. Mr Falconer said the family had been angered by Mr Kelly's appearances on television. "What's been going on is, this guy's been saying, when he went along to the TV studios, 'I hope Lynne is getting counselling and I hope the family are taking care of her'. That's what he should have been doing. No woman is going to walk out if her marriage is OK." He challenged Mr Kelly publicly to deny having assaulted his wife, despite evidence given in court that he was convicted on 15 May 1996.

Letters, page 15

Helen Mirren: *Prime Suspect* star in the prime of life

## She's 51, but still the sexiest

Louise Jury

In a poll calculated to hearten every middle-aged woman, the actress Helen Mirren has been voted the sexiest woman on television.

The star of the *Prime Suspect* detective series, who last year posed naked at 50, beat a clutch of younger contenders to win the approval of readers of *Radio Times* magazine. She attracted a 5 per cent lead over the *X-Files* Gillian Anderson followed by Jennifer Aniston of *Friends* and presenter Ulrika Jonsson.

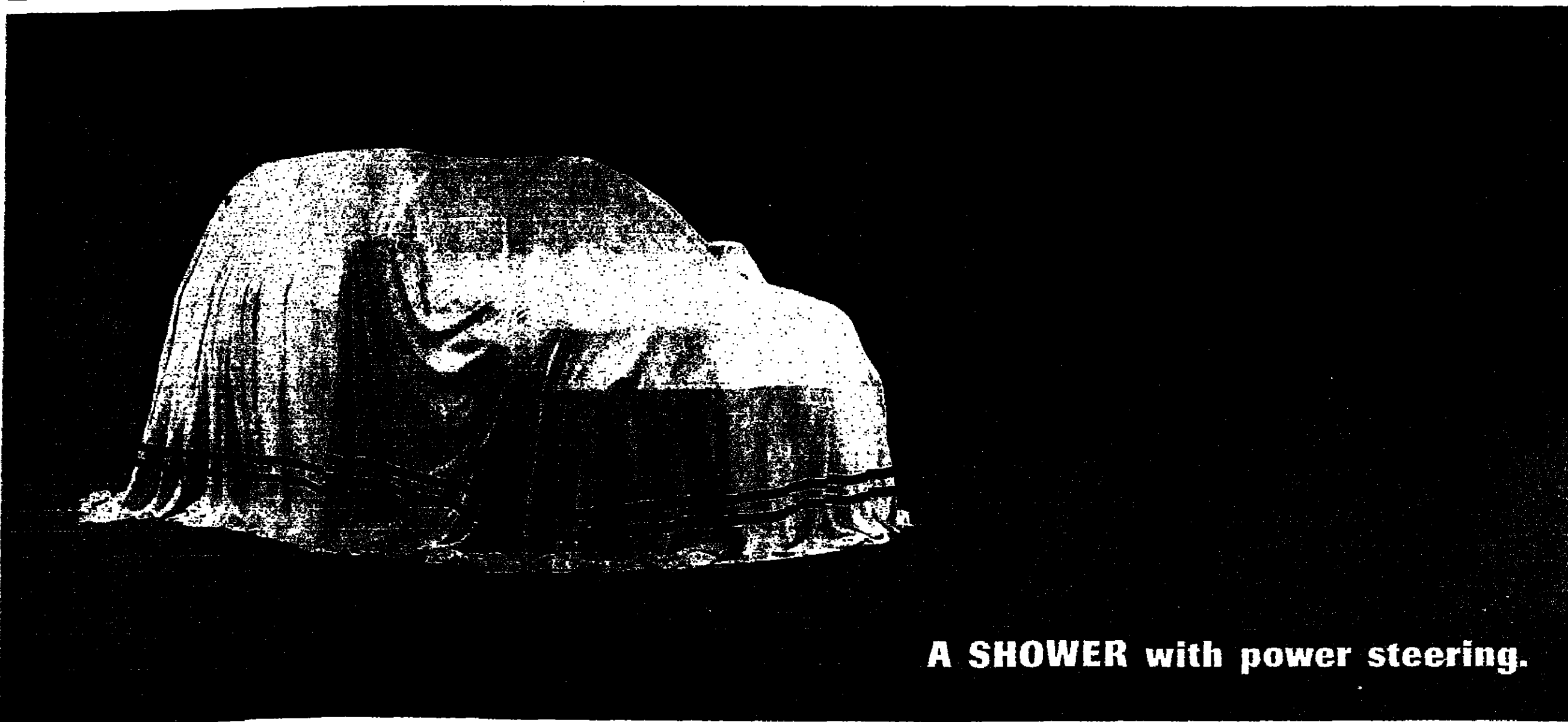
However, the *X-Files*, the cult American series, can boast the sexiest man. David Duchovny trounced home-grown talent including actors Colin Firth and Neil Pearson and sports presenter Des Lynam.

Nearly 40,000 people returned the *Radio Times* survey of viewing and listening habits. The editor Sue Robinson said it showed what a major part television plays in our lives. More than one-quarter said they would not give it up even for large sums of cash. The survey found that 45 per

cent of those who replied were more shocked by the news than crime programmes. ITN's Trevor McDonald was the news reader the public most trusts, just ahead of the BBC's Michael Buerk. Michael Parkinson was the best-ever British chat-show host, with 47 per cent of the vote compared with 12 per cent for Clive James.

The readers overwhelmingly regarded Chris Evans, the former Radio 1 disc jockey, as a fool and would most like to receive the kiss of life from Dr Ross, of the American medical drama *ER*. Inspector Morse was the favourite detective.

Readers' main concern was excessive violence – 47 per cent said films with a violent content should be censored. Yet 45 per cent thought films should not be cut at all. Of those who replied, 58 per cent watched television for between one and three hours a day and another third watched for more than four hours a day. One per cent never watched any television at all. Forty-two per cent listened to the radio for between one and three hours a day.



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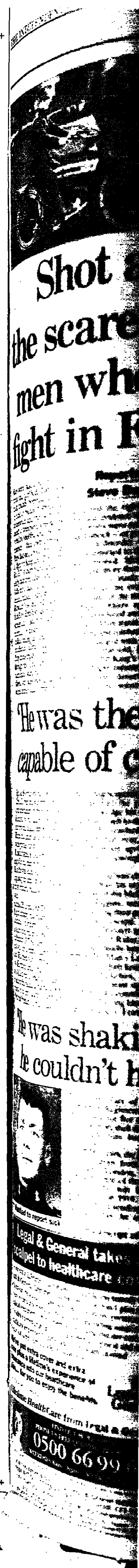
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Joseph Stones and the Bible given to his wife when he joined the Durham Light Infantry. Stones's quick thinking helped him and his comrades, including Peter Goggins, left, escape a German patrol. Both were shot for cowardice

Photograph: Keith Dobney/North News

## Shot at dawn: the scared young men who lied to fight in Flanders

They were sick, cold, hungry, tired and terrified. They saw their friends bombed, gassed and cut to pieces in spectacular numbers and they were reduced to trembling wrecks by relentless shellfire and the imminence of their own demise. Many had lied about their age to fight for King and Country. But 307 of them were executed by their comrades, often for little more than being frightened, confused young men. Between 1914 and 1920, more than 3,000 British soldiers were sentenced to death by courts martial for desertion, cowardice, striking an officer, disobedience, falling asleep on duty or casting away arms. Although only 11 per cent of the sentences were carried out, those who were shot at dawn were denied legal representa-

Reports by  
Steve Boggan

tion and the right of appeal. Medical evidence which showed that many were suffering from shell-shock – or post-traumatic stress disorder – was either not submitted to the courts or was ignored. Most hearings lasted no more than 20 minutes. Transcripts made public 75 years after the events suggest that some of the men were under duress. Others appeared to have wandered away from the battlefield in states of extreme distress and confusion, yet they were charged with desertion. One 19-year-old, Pte George Roe of the King's Own Yorkshire Light Infantry, was executed for desertion, even though one witness told his

court martial: "[Roe] came up to me and asked if I was a policeman. He told me that he had lost his way and had been wandering about for two days." Another 19-year-old, Pte James Archibald of the 17th Royal Scots, told his comrades he "felt queer" while en route to the trenches at 6.30pm on 14 May 1916. At 3pm the next day, he was found asleep in a barn. He was shot by firing squad three weeks later.

Sgt Joe Stones of the Durham Light Infantry was arrested in January 1917 after an ambush in which his commanding officer was killed. Stones, whose previous bravery had been acknowledged by officers, had wedged his non-functioning rifle across a narrow trench to slow down Germans who were pursuing him. He was deemed

to have "cast away his arms" and was executed.

Pte Joseph Byers was under age when he enlisted in 1914. By January 1915, the war had ground the young man down and he went absent without leave. After being caught, he admitted attempting to desert in the naive belief that his honesty and contrition would earn him a prison sentence. He was shot at dawn two weeks later.

Andrew Mackinlay, the Labour MP for Thurrock who has been campaigning for pardons for the men for five years, said: "When the suppressed documents relating to these courts martial were released, they showed that these men were demonstrably shell-shocked."

"Even where we can't prove the men were ill, we can say that there was one common denominator – they were all denied

natural justice. None was given access to legal representation or the right of appeal. Most of them were not given proper medical examinations and so their conditions were ignored." Mr Mackinlay would like to see either a blanket pardon by royal prerogative – which would not require legislation – or each case to be examined on its merits by High Court judges. None of the cases he is concerned with

involves treason or mutiny. Julian Putkowski, co-author of *Shot at Dawn* (Pen & Sword), said: "The function of these executions was to intimidate and frighten soldiers in the battlefield to get them to take part in pointless exercises in which thousands were slaughtered."

"The composite soldier in the trenches would be suffering from chronic insomnia and anxiety attacks. He would be wet

and cold in wind-chill factors that dragged temperatures as low as minus-18. "It was enough to drive anyone crazy. To say that all these men who were shot were bad and deserved their punishment is to ignore all these factors. Most just couldn't take any more." By 1930, Parliament had introduced legislation banning the death sentence for the offences for which the 307 were shot.

## 'He was the last man capable of cowardice'

Sgt Joe Stones stood at just 5ft 2ins tall, but he was promoted over the heads of stronger men because of his acknowledged bravery and leadership qualities. Time and again he led barbed-wire parties out into No Man's Land, risking his life while caring for the men in his charge. But he was executed for "casting away his arms" in one of the most bizarre tragedies of the war. Stones, 25, of the 19th Durham Light Infantry, had been in the trenches of northern France for a year when, one cold morning in January 1917, he went on patrol with his commanding officer. The men were ambushed by Germans and the officer was killed, but Stones couldn't return fire because he had not removed a protective cover from the breach of his rifle.

The young sergeant turned and ran but had the presence of mind to wedge his rifle across a narrow trench to slow the Germans. He reached his comrades in the rear, shouting: "The Hun are upon us," and gave them enough time to escape. However, he was charged with casting away his arms and two corporals, John McDonald and Peter Goggins, were charged with quitting their posts as they made their escape. At Stones's court martial, one officer, Lt J. Rider, wrote: "I have personally been out with him in No Man's Land and always found him keen and bold. In the trenches, he never showed the least sign of funk. ...I have had countless opportunities of seeing him under bad circumstances. I can safely say

that he was the last man I would have thought capable of any cowardly action." But Stones, along with the corporals, was executed anyway. Like many families whose sons were shot at dawn, Stones's never spoke of him again. His great nephew, Tom Stones, 56, found out about him only last year. "My grandfather was a lay preacher and he kept a bible with details of family members, the war and battles written inside – but there was no mention of my great uncle Joe," he said. "What they did to him makes me very angry. They shot him like a rat. It's clear that the poor bugger was no coward. I don't want a medal for him, but I do think he should get a pardon and an apology."

## 'He was shaking so much he couldn't hold a pen'



Farr: Wanted to report sick

Pte Harry Farr of the West Yorkshire Regiment had been in hospital for five months recovering from shell shock before they sent him back to the trenches. For two years, the 26-year-old married man from Kensington, west London, had been through some of the worst action of the war before he cracked up in 1916. And, four months after sending him back into the fray, he cracked up again.

The transcript of his court

martial at Ville-sur-Ancres records that Farr failed to report for duty on 17 September. He fell out without permission, intending to find an officer to report sick to. However, his pleas fell on deaf ears and he was dragged, kicking and screaming, towards the front before being charged with cowardice.

He told the court martial: "I returned to the 1st Line Transport hoping to report sick to some medical officer there. On the sergeant major's return I reported to him and said I was sick and I could not stand it."

"He then said: 'You are a fucking coward and you will go to the trenches. I give fuck all for my life and I give fuck all for yours and I'll get you fucking well shot.'" He was shot at dawn on 18 October.

While he was in the hospital suffering from shell shock, a nurse wrote a letter home for him to his wife, Gertrude, because his hands were shaking too much to hold a pen. It was the last she heard from him.

Gertrude kept her husband's fate a secret for more than 70 years. She was 99 when the papers relating to his case were released and her granddaughter, Janet Booth, was able to explain that he had not been a coward, but was simply a sick young man unable to take any more killing.

"After all those years not mentioning him, she spent the last days of her life talking about Harry Farr," said Mrs Booth. "It means an awful lot to her to have the stigma removed. Now I'd like to see my grandfather pardoned."

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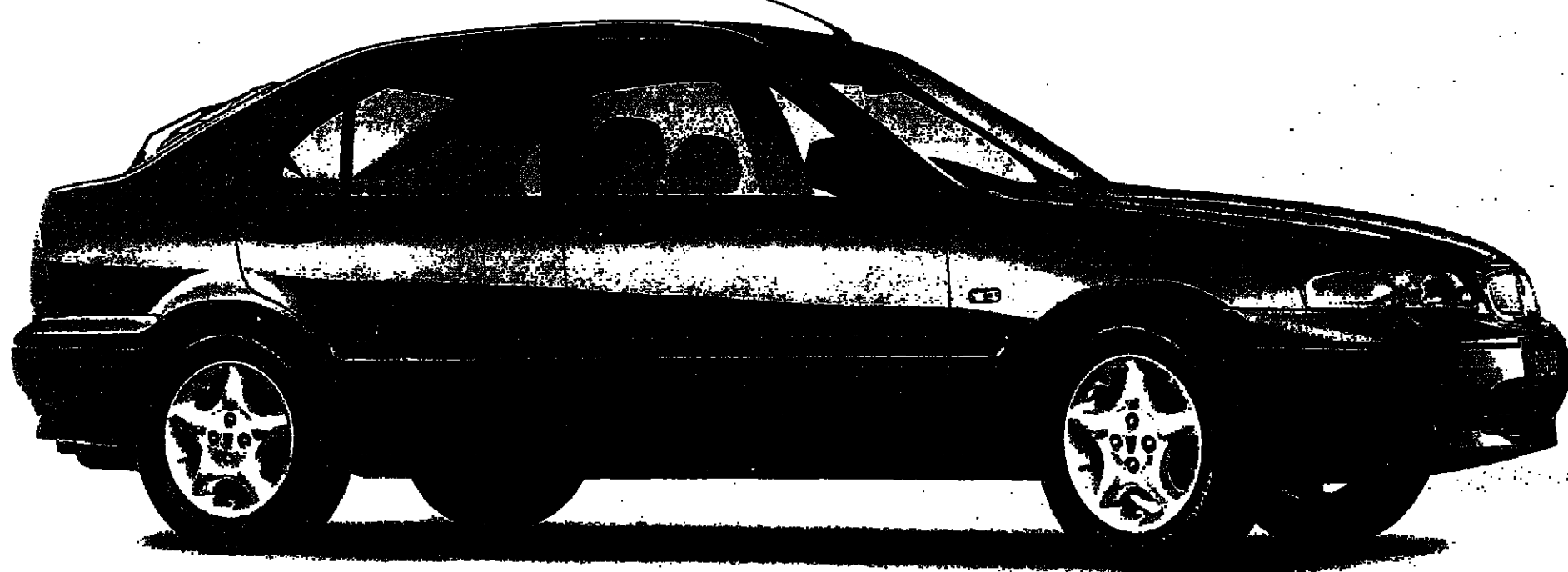
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DAILY POEM

Weekly Body

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مكتبة في المجمع



# Hint of hope for nurses in murder trial

Steve Boggan

The man who holds the fate of two British nurses in his hands hinted yesterday that he had not ruled out asking a Saudi court to spare them from being beheaded.

Frank Gilford, brother of Yvonne Gilford, the Australian nurse allegedly murdered by the Britons Deborah Parry and Lucille McLauchlan, made conflicting statements about his willingness to see the death penalty carried out. But, as a result of the Saudi court adjourning the women's trial for three weeks so lawyers could make a plea for clemency, he said he would use the time to think about his position.

Mr Gilford, of Adelaide, and

his family are the only people who can save Ms Parry and Ms McLauchlan if they are found guilty of beating, stabbing and smothering his sister to death last December at the King Fahd Military Medical Complex in Dhahran. He has consistently said he wanted the death penalty carried out, and appeared to adhere to that yesterday in an interview on BBC Radio 5 Live's *Midday with Mair* programme.

When asked by the journalist Eddie Mair whether he would consider clemency in the case, he replied: "Not at this stage, no." However, by the end of the five-minute interview, he appeared to soften his position. Asked what would make him ask for clemency, he replied: "That I don't know until such

time as we get more facts and time to contemplate the aspects.

"It is something that we have some weeks to think about and contemplate. It is not a matter of a simple question, yes or no, now. It's something that we have got to think about. We can't just jump of the deep end and say, Oh yes, we're going to do this, we're going to do that."

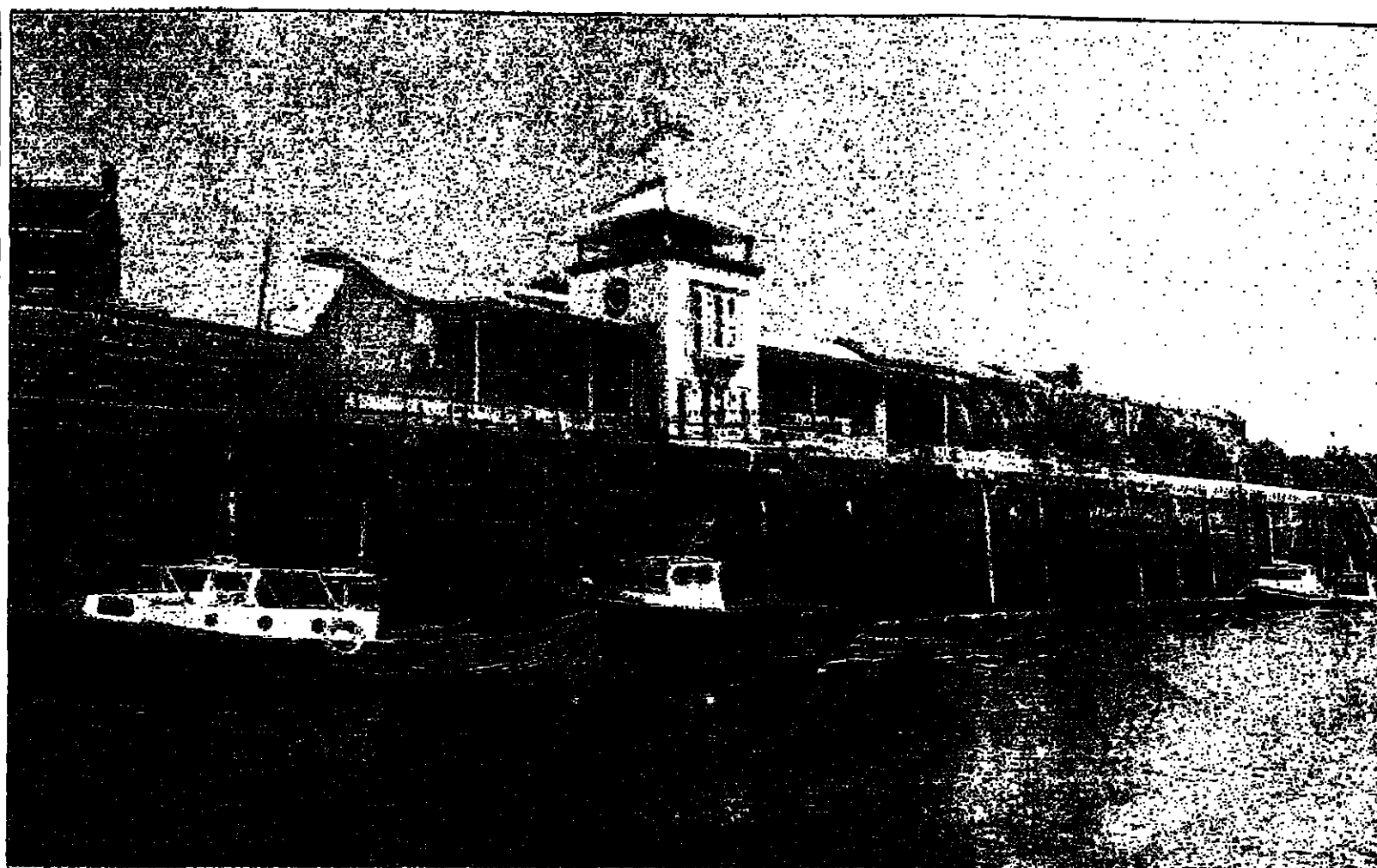
Asked when he and his family would make a decision, he replied: "Well, give us time to think about it. We don't know."

The brutal way his 55-year-old sister was killed has clearly played a large part in his calls for the penalty to be carried out. "It has not been easy - it is something that just doesn't go away," he said. "You can sort of close your eyes and see your sister there, all stab wounds and head all bashed in. It just doesn't go away."

Earlier, in an interview with Independent Radio News, Mr Gilford acknowledged that the death penalty and "blood money" - compensation for a victim's family - were not the only punishments available to the courts. "There are more options than just the blood money and the beheading," he said. "Apparently, there is imprisonment in the case as well."

Ms Parry, 41, of Alton, Hampshire, and Ms McLauchlan, 31, of Dundee, have withdrawn confessions, which they told a hearing in Al-Khobar on Sunday they made after being threatened with rape. The hearing was adjourned for three weeks so fresh approaches could be made to Mr Gilford.

His apparent willingness to consider the jail option was welcomed by Stephen Jakobi of Fair Trials Abroad. "But the problem here is not whether guilty people deserve the death penalty," he said. "It is that confession statements were obtained in highly dubious circumstances."



Off the drawing board: Ouseburn water sports centre, on the Tyne, by Newcastle-based Jane Darbyshire

Photograph: Michael Scott/North News

## Female architects build on success

Louise Jury

When Jane Drew, the brilliant British architect of the Modern Movement, graduated as an architectural student in 1929 no one would give her a job.

She had received 16 marriage proposals during her studies at the Architectural Association where the predominance of men was such, she once recalled, that "you could have a hare-lip and a squint and still be taken out to lunch".

She overcame these hurdles to enjoy a long, successful career and died last July at the age of 85. This autumn, a new award celebrating women in architecture is being launched in her memory.

But the Jane Drew Award will not be alone in honouring women architects. Though they comprise only 10 per cent of the profession, they are finally in the limelight.

The Design Museum in London has just finished a series of lectures on women designers and architects. Next week the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) unveils an exhibition of their work in its Heinz Gallery.

The Prince of Wales' Institute of Architecture is holding a one-day seminar on women in architecture next week. And his magazine, *Perspectives*, this month devotes eight pages in praise of the women who, it claims, "are finally transforming this last bastion of sexism".

Joanna van Heyningen, 51, who runs her own practice with husband Birkin Haward, believes this will be the "last gasp of interest in women".

She concedes she was one of only a handful of women at a dinner of several thousand architects earlier this month. She thinks it is probably more difficult for employees, rather than

partners, and certainly for women outside London who do not get the same salaries and promotions as their male colleagues.

But the breakthrough has been made. "We've won the battle," Ms van Heyningen said.

Ms van Heyningen's experience is that being a woman can be positive. "You have a certain surprise advantage on the building site. They do slightly expect you not to know about building, but once you've shown you do, they jolly well listen."

She points out it is feasible to work as a single practitioner. "But they aren't the people who become famous. They're not doing the big, flashy buildings."

Women are being noticed for what they do. For example, Jane Darbyshire, who works in Newcastle with her partner David Kendall, was awarded the OBE in 1994 for "services to architecture" after developing a

national reputation for housing, hospice, urban renewal and sports and arts centre schemes.

Kate Macintosh gained an MBE for her long and distinguished career including work on the Royal National Theatre. And Gabriele Bramante seized the public imagination with her glass and steel Citizens' Advice Bureau in Chessington.

Denise Bennetts, 44, who runs a practice with her husband Rab producing buildings such as Powergen's headquarters, said despite the presence of some all-women practices, there was no women's movement in architecture. "Our generation felt it was more important to master the profession and be good at it."

Up to 30 per cent of the students are women and Denise Bennetts hopes they will not have to be their own bosses to succeed. "It is beholden on practices to give people the freedom," she said.



Jane Darbyshire: OBE for services to architecture

### DAILY POEM

#### Heavenly Body

By Sarah Maguire

*I could stake out the summer at my kitchen window:  
sunning the street.*

*searching for the scarlet flare of your Mercedes at my kerb.  
Since St Swinith's Day.*

*it's pelted down. On August 12th the world's astronomers  
observed the Perseids.*

*expectant that Swift-Tuttle's comet dust would storm  
to starlight.*

*But in Notting Hill the clouds occlude the heavens;  
the passing cars*

*in darkness turn unamic, their lights a sallow blur  
along the scudding road.*

"Heavenly Body" comes from Sarah Maguire's second collection, *The Invisible Mender*, published this week by Jonathan Cape (£7). Sarah Maguire will be reading at the Poetry Society, 22 Betterton Street, London WC2, on Thursday 29 May at 7.30pm. To reserve a seat (£5 per ticket) telephone 0171-240 2133.

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## news

# 'Rainbow' coalition narrows gap in run-up to Irish poll



Fashion victim: Bertie Ahern being fitted into a Planet Hollywood jacket by the actor Sylvester Stallone at a restaurant publicity ceremony in Dublin. Photograph: Eamon Farrell

Alan Murdoch  
Dublin

New opinion polls suggest that the result of Ireland's general election next week will be on a knife-edge, with the outgoing "rainbow" coalition rapidly narrowing the lead held by the centre-right opposition alliance.

Two weekend polls found the previous week's 8 per cent lead held by Bertie Ahern's Fianna Fail and the Progressive Democrats (PDs) under their hard-hitting leader Mary Harney cut to 4 per cent.

The opposition lead could now be narrower following weekend controversy over tough social policy reforms urged by Ms Harney's party. Her call for allowances for single mothers to be redirected to encourage them to stay at home with their own parents has caused unease among her prospective government partners. The Democratic Left accused the PD of "playing to intolerance for political gain" and "targeting the weakest and most vulnerable members of society."

Left-wing coalition parties could hardly conceal their glee at the PD line, which allowed

them to reaffirm their radical social concern. This prompted crisis talks between Ms Harney and Mr Ahern on Sunday. Fianna Fail also has many voters in the state sector, where the PDs want to cut 25,000 jobs.

The latest polls show Fianna Fail at 41 per cent; Fine Gael steady at 26 per cent; Labour up two points to 14 per cent; PDs down one at 5 per cent; and

Democratic Left unchanged at two.

The improved Labour showing is critical to the government retaining power, as it is now hitting the level needed to retain two-thirds of the record 33 seats it secured in 1992.

The hustings had earlier been dominated by rival tax-cutting pledges, with the opposition's plan for a 5 per cent re-

duction countered by a broader government plan to reform allowances, tax bands and social insurance levels to lift disposable incomes.

Government parties stressed that their plan would give more, wider relief to the lower paid, with the 15 per cent of top-rate tax-payers receiving assistance only after two years if finances allow.

Current party strengths in the 166-seat Dail elected in 1992 are: Fianna Fail 68; Fine Gael 46; Labour 32; PDs 8; Democratic Left 6 and Green Party 1, with five others, including the Ceann Comhairle (Speaker). Sinn Féin has an outside chance of taking its first Dail seat since it won four forty years ago in 1957.

All the major parties have re-

sisted attempts to bring abortion on to the agenda, fearing a repeat of the bounding of individual TDs (MPs) by hard-line campaigners seen throughout the Eighties.

Last week, the conservative Archbishop of Dublin urged a new referendum to outlaw any abortion in Ireland. Dr Desmond Connell said it was "disconcerting" that opposition to abortion was not being reflected in the public positions of political parties.

The new National Party, headed by Limerick dancing teacher Nora Bennis, is backing a "pro-family" anti-abortion line and wants a £100-a-week wage to enable mothers to stay at home with their children.

Irish abortion law has been confused since a 1992 Supreme Court ruling allowed a 14-year-old girl the right to an abortion abroad after hearing that she was a suicide risk.

Three referendums later that year confirmed women's right to information about abortion and travel but rejected a loosely drafted proposal to permit terminations in Ireland where the health, as opposed to the life, of the mother was at risk.

## From left to right: how the parties compare

If history is any guide Ireland's voters will opt for change - they usually do. No sitting government since 1969 has succeeded in being re-elected in the same form.

Casting a single transferable vote in 41 multi-seat constituencies, the 2.7 million electorate on 6 June will choose between the outgoing centre-left "rainbow" coalition, formed in 1994 of Fine Gael-Labour-Democratic Left, and the Fianna Fail-Progressive Democrats centre-right alternative.

Fianna Fail and Fine Gael derive from the 1922-23 civil war schism which followed British withdrawal. Fianna Fail, created in 1926 by supporters of Eamon de Valera, opposed partition and, until the Republic was declared in 1948,

an oath of allegiance to the Crown under the treaty with Britain. With its legendary electoral machine, Fianna Fail held power for 49 of the 74 years since the state was formed. More national movement than political party, it linked small farmers and urban workers under a republican umbrella. Since the Sixties, as it moved towards big business, its urban strength has been eroded by the left.

Fine Gael emerged from Michael Collins's allies who backed the treaty. Its support, notably from conservative Catholic farmers and professional classes, peaked at 39 per cent in 1979.

Fianna Fail and Fine Gael have simi-

lar economic policies. Today it is the smaller parties that give coalitions their colouring. Dick Spring's moderate Labour, founded in 1912, is the third party in size and reached its peak vote in 1992 winning 19 per cent of the vote and 33 Dail seats.

The mainly urban, middle-class Progressive Democrats, who married new-right economics and liberal social views, were launched in 1985 after a Fianna Fail split, entering government with that party from 1989-92. The Democratic Left grew out of a splinter group from the official Republican movement which turned to constitutional politics.

## Kickboxer in fatal fight

A kickboxer died in Northern Ireland yesterday after collapsing in the ring.

Sean McBride, 18, from Dungannon, Co Tyrone, was taken from the ring to South Tyrone Hospital, apparently after being struck a blow on the back of the head. He was then transferred to the Royal Victoria Hospital, Belfast, where he was put on a life-support machine. He died without regaining consciousness.

Sean, a meat plant worker, fell at the end of his contest at a hotel near Dungannon. Police

have been called in to investigate the death and an inquest is to be held.

His mother, Mary McBride, said: "Football and boxing were his life. I didn't want to stop him fighting because I knew it meant too much to him."

Mrs McBride, her husband Sean and daughters Ciara, Fiona and Aime, were sitting among the crowd at the Gleanagannon Hotel where her son collapsed on Friday night.

The teenager's death, thought to be the first ever from injuries sustained during a kickboxing

match, was a tragedy waiting to happen, according to the Belfast-based world champion.

Billy Murray, International Sport Kickboxing Association world champion, said he had long complained about inadequate safety measures employed by some branches of the sport. "The people at fault here are the Sports Council. For many years we have been battling to get all the kickboxing groups to come together and get a governing body and we have asked the Sports Council to do this on many occasions."

## Rifkind's Scottish U-turn

Anthony Bevins  
Political Editor

A Scottish parliament could have its uses, Malcolm Rifkind, the former foreign secretary, has conceded in a remarkable toning down of dire pre-election Tory warnings about devolution.

Mr Rifkind, who lost his Edinburgh Pentlands seat in the election, told *The Scotsman* newspaper: "As we have our own Scottish legal system, and have a separate Scottish office, then there could be some utility in having these matters de-

termined by an elected parliament in Scotland."

But he said the potential disadvantages - the threat posed to Scottish representation in Westminster and Whitehall, and the risk of a cut in the favourable public expenditure allocation - outweighed the advantages.

He also said the risk of a break-up of the United Kingdom was low - in spite of the gory threats presented by his party during the election campaign. In one particularly strong speech, John Major had said Tony Blair was threatening to

take the ancient and functioning constitution of the United Kingdom "and gush through the tapestry with a vandal's knife. And what would be the consequence? ... a Disunited Kingdom drifting towards a United States of Europe."

Mr Rifkind said of the threat of break-up: "I believe there is a risk that that could happen. But I also believe the innate good sense of the Scottish and the English - a determination to persevere in the UK - means that it is highly probable that the UK will survive."

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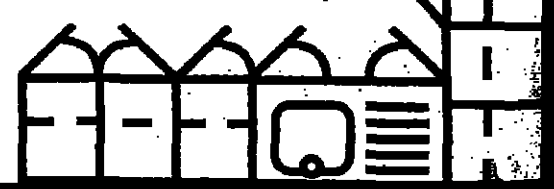
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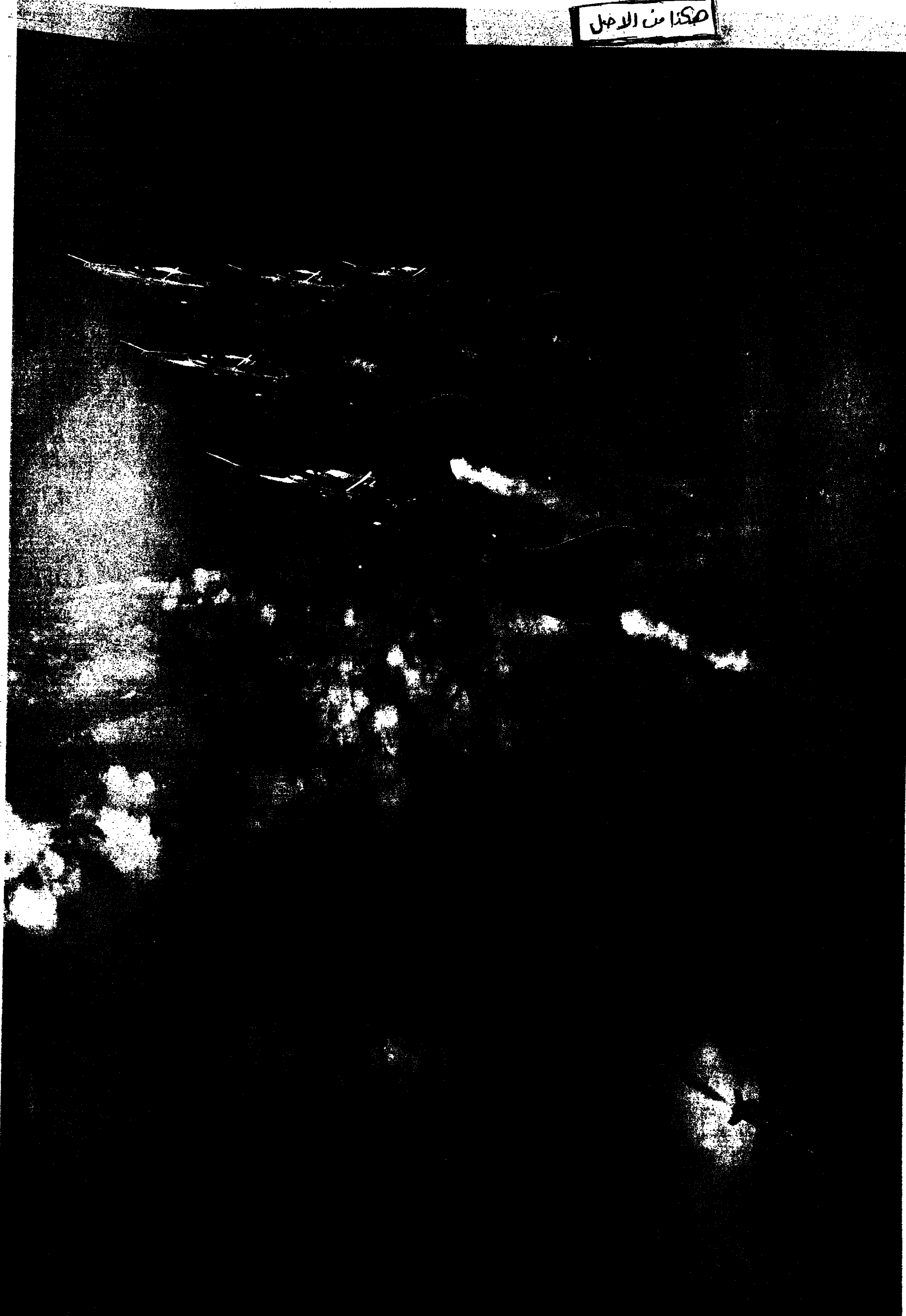




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international

# Chirac feeds off Juppé's sacrifice

John Lichfield  
Paris

With one bound our hero was free. The unpopular Prime Minister, Alain Juppé, announced yesterday that he would carry the responsibility for the crushing first-round rejection suffered by his centre-right government in the first round of parliamentary elections on Sunday.

But President Jacques Chirac's hand will be pictured by many behind the back of his long-time servant and ally, compounding the president's reputation as a reckless political dice-roller and determined escapist.

Mr Juppé's decision is politically unprecedented and constitutionally extremely doubtful. His departure may be enough to tip the second round towards the centre-right but there could also be a reaction against what will be seen as a cynical manoeuvre.

President Chirac's decision to call a snap election already pushed the constitution of the Fifth Republic to its limit. The ditching of a prime minister between rounds of a parliamentary election strains the bounds of presidential propriety.

Will it succeed? It may. Mr Juppé, leader of Mr Chirac's party, the Gaullist RPR, was the second least popular prime minister in recent history. The prospect that President Chirac might appoint a more consensual and charismatic figure – possibly the outgoing parliamentary president, Philippe Séguin – could persuade many disaffected centre-right voters to turn out in the second round on Sunday.

But the appalling first round score of the RPR and its allies the UDF – at 31 per cent, the worst by the centre right in 40 years – was also a rebuff for Mr Chirac and Chiracism. It was the President, as much as Mr Juppé, who failed to deliver on



Three-way split: The National Front mayor of Toulon, Jean-Marie Chevalier (centre) with party followers. The NF gained 15 per cent of the vote on Sunday. Photograph: Brian Harris

his promises of two years ago to cut unemployment and heal France's "social fractures". It was the President who took the decision to call the election nine months early. It was the President's RPR party which endured some of the most stinging reverses on Sunday night.

In the President's one-time unassailable fortress, the city of Paris, the centre-right may lose six seats, including that of Mr Chirac's long-time friend and successor as Mayor, Jean Tiberi.

To protect the last five years of his presidency from cohabitation with a left-wing government, the President is expected to make another personal intervention before Sunday – probably in a television address on Thursday or Friday evening. What remains of constitutional etiquette will prevent him from naming Mr Juppé's potential successor. But leaks may fill the gap.

Will it be semi-dissident Mr Séguin of the RPR, a man who

has recently curbed his EMU-scepticism? Or will it be the rising force in the UDF, the education minister, François Bayrou? Sources within the RPR say Mr Chirac would be extremely unwilling to appoint either man since the post might provide a springboard for them to challenge him for the presidency in 2002. A reconciliation with Mr Chirac's old friend, Edouard Balladur, who unsuccessfully used the premiership to try to do just that in 1995, is

regarded as out of the question. The great personal victor of the first round is undoubtedly the Socialist leader, Lionel Jospin. Whatever the outcome this weekend, he is now established as the clear master of the French left.

Sunday's vote re-established the Socialists, with 25.5 per cent, as the most popular single party in France. The loose alliance of Socialists, Communists and Greens, together with minority leftist parties, scored

44.3 per cent in the first round. This could provide the platform for a narrow win by the left on Sunday. But Mr Jospin has few political reserves to call on.

The non-vote on Sunday – including spoiled ballots a near-record 35 per cent – is believed to be disproportionately on the centre-right. Mr Jospin's hopes depend, with dark irony, on the behaviour of the far-right National Front. In those constituencies where the NF candidate has

been eliminated, the far-right votes, on past form, should transfer to the centre-right.

The left's chances of forming a majority depend on winning many of the 78 seats, out of 577, in which the right-wing vote will be split by a three-cornered fight between the left, the centre-right and the NF. It seems the left's chances of winning these seats is good. But to have a real chance of power, Mr Jospin probably needed perhaps 100 or 150 three-way battles.

## Arafat berated over jail torture

Eric Silver  
Jerusalem

"If you had heard them," said Youssef Musa, 56, a Palestinian driver, in Jerusalem yesterday, "you wouldn't have wept tears, you would have wept blood."

Mr Musa spoke after visiting his son, Imad, in a Jericho prison. Imad, 25, is one of nine men in their twenties and thirties from Al-Khader, near Bethlehem, who have been held by Palestinian military intelligence for a year on multiple-murder charges. They are alleged to have acted on orders from an Israeli secret service agent.

Palestinian human rights workers believe they were

framed by a security apparatus running out of control. On 7 February Yasser Arafat's Justice Minister, Freih Abu-Medein, told the Palestinian parliament they were innocent and would be released within 48 hours. Three months later they are still behind bars. Their trial has been set for 22 June.

The Palestinian authorities now say they have all confessed. But the nine claim they were tortured until they signed false admissions.

Youssef Musa accused their Palestinian interrogators of sexually abusing the prisoners, of threatening to settle accounts with their families, beating them and forcing them to drink

sewage water. He last saw his son on Saturday.

"He told me they raped them with their batons," he said. "They tied their hands behind them and made them stand or sit naked in one position for hours at a time. They tied them to a rod and turned them like chickens on a spit. They hit them with electric cables."

According to Bassem Eid, director of the Palestinian Human Rights Monitoring Group, the Israeli army has admitted that two of the Al-Khader shootings were perpetrated by undercover Israeli soldiers.

One of the accused, Nabil Salah, 25, was serving a term in an Israeli prison when he was

supposed to have murdered a man from his village on the way to the mosque. In another case, one of the supposed murder victims had committed suicide by drinking poison in front of her husband's family.

Mr Eid was presenting his independent group's first annual report at the end of a month in which two Arab land dealers were bludgeoned to death, apparently by Palestinian police, for selling land to Jews, and two Arab journalists have been arrested for doing their jobs.

"We are still," he said, "confronted with illegal detention, substandard prison conditions, lack of proper procedure and torture on a large scale."

## Citizens tied up by red tape of Europe's free-travel zone

Sarah Helm  
Brussels

Nobody has counted the number of conventions, decisions, handbooks, resolutions, or annexes that constitute the Schengen agreement, but officials estimate they would stand about three feet high.

Europe's first botched attempt to set up a free-travel area, the Schengen agreement is a monument to the complexity of harmonising national laws in such sensitive fields as immigration, policing and criminal justice.

In these policy areas more than any other, every country wants its sovereign rights protected and its geographical "specificity".

Over the years the Schengen machine has probably churned out more than 3,000 pages. The "common consular instruction" (harmonised visas) alone runs to hundreds of pages, with at least 14 annexes. Some might say that the sheer

unwieldiness of Schengen, signed so far by seven European countries, would have deterred the European Union's 15 member states from continuing down this path of integration, particularly at a time when the union proclaims a new commitment to simplifying its laws in order to get closer to "the citizen".

Yet this same Schengen agreement is about to become incorporated into the already labyrinthine texts of EU law.

As part of the present negotiations on EU reform, to be completed at Amsterdam in three weeks time, it is being proposed that Europe should set up an "area of freedom, justice and security". The foundations of this new EU-wide legislation will be the Schengen agreement.

The process of incorporating Schengen is causing such headaches for EU lawyers and diplomats that some predict the entire project may have to be abandoned. "It's a terrible mess," said one Brussels diplomat.

One country – Britain – bears the blame for causing such complexity. If Britain had not opposed the establishment of a EU-wide free travel area in the first place, there would have been no need for the Schengen agreement, say many European officials.

The story of Europe's attempts to establish open borders goes back to the Single European Act, under which it was agreed that, by 1992, the European Community would establish free movement of goods, services and people.

The former prime minister, Baroness Thatcher balked at free movement of people, as it would mean an end to the UK's internal border controls.

Other member states established their own free travel zone, without Britain, under the Schengen Agreement, which by next year will have been signed by 13 member states, with only Britain and Ireland outside.

Operating the Schengen sys-

tem outside the EU, however, has proved deeply unsatisfactory, and other member states are therefore keen to rationalise the process within Europe's institutional framework. This means incorporation of Schengen and acceptance of its principles by all 15 member states.

The problem is that Britain's new Labour government is once again stalling at the integration.

And Tony Blair is causing even more headaches by saying that not only must Britain keep its internal borders, but it must also be able to "opt in" to other parts of Schengen such as crime data sharing.

"They just want to pick and choose – it can't be done," said one official.

For the sake of a political deal at Amsterdam a compromise is bound to be worked out. But the result will be a new European agreement of such monstrous proportions that it will far surpass the monstrosity of Schengen, meaning nothing at all to the "citizen".

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# Betrayal led Taliban to bloodless triumph

Slippery deals enabled regime to capture north, writes J J Ferguson

The speed with which the end came flabbergasted everybody. Only three weeks ago, General Rashid Dostum, the defeated leader of the anti-Taliban alliance, stood on a podium in the centre of Mazar-i-Sharif for two hours as his forces, including 70 tanks and a squadron of MiG-21s, rumbled by or dipped their wings overhead in salute. Not one of those tanks or jets fired a shot against the Taliban as they advanced from the west this weekend, prompting General Dostum to flee to Tashkent and then Ankara. Never in Afghan history has so much territory been won with so little bloodshed.

The collapse of the north is not complete. Ahmed Shah Massoud, General Dostum's main ally and former defence minister in the government expelled from Kabul by the Taliban last September, still controls two or three provinces in the north-east. The territory he holds in the mountains and high passes of the Panjshir valley is a very different military prospect to the flatlands of Turkmenistan. He commands about 20,000 seasoned troops, whose loyalty to their leader appears to be of a different order to that of General Dostum's men. What Massoud and his forces do next is of crucial importance to the peace and security not just of Afghanistan but of Central Asia.

Massoud is an ethnic Tajik, whose inspired guerrilla campaign against the Taliban throughout last winter has been supported by Tajikistan and probably by Russia as well, principally from an airfield at Kulyab, in the southern Tajikistan. This weekend the Tajik President, Imomali Rakhmonov, called an emergency meeting to discuss the burgeoning crisis to the south. He has frequently expressed fears that Afghan conflicts may trigger an uncontrollable influx of refugees into Tajikistan, which shares an 800-mile border with Afghanistan and is only now emerging from a five-year civil war of its own.

There are already an estimated 1.8 million people living in Mazar, far more than its ordinary population, and a large



proportion of these are fugitives from the Taliban. With the fall of the city, those people with reason to run have nowhere left to go now but north.

Massoud, or so the theory goes, could lead some or all of his army with them if the Panjshir Valley proves untenable; the arrival of 20,000 battle-hardened former Mujahedin would upset the fragile status quo between Tajikistan's ex-communist nationalists and Muslim hard-liners, especially if the Taliban decided to pursue them across the border.

Russia, which still commands 25,000 border troops in the region, shares the fears of President Rakhmonov. Moscow believes the conflict may spread to Tajikistan's neighbours to the west and north. This weekend Yevgeny Primakov, Russia's Foreign Minister, said the a collective security treaty would be "immediately activated" if the border was violated. However, at the same time the Taliban foreign minister, Mullah Mohammed Ghous, tried to reassure the world that his government "strictly adhered to a policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries".

But the word of an Afghan leader is often worthless, as the Russians found to their cost during their 10-year occupation of the country. General Abdul-Majeed Rozi is a case in point. He was one of General Dostum's most trusted commanders and once famously accepted an \$11m (£7m) bribe to capitulate to the Taliban and then did

nothing of the kind. Yesterday he was on the streets of Mazar, calling for the population not to be afraid of their new masters and to reopen their shops.

General Rozi was instrumental in the collapse of the western front that made the capture of Mazar possible. Interviewed at 18 Division Headquarters on that front line by *The Independent* only one month ago, General Rozi's antipathy to the fundamentalists from the south seemed sincere. "Maybe the Talibs are not good Muslims," he said. "What Muslim would hit women with sticks?"

Who knows what slippery deal the Taliban struck with General Rozi in order to get him to change his mind. "I've been a soldier for 27 years," he said last month. "My job is to take orders. I leave politics to the politicians." Yet he did not hesitate to betray General Dostum.

As the Taliban prepares to move east from Mazar for the final offensive, the world is watching to see whether Massoud will have the same problem with his commanders.



The *Diao Yu Tai*, a protest boat from Hong Kong, runs into a patrol boat of Japan's Maritime Safety Agency yesterday during a protest over Tokyo's claim to an island chain near the Senkakus, in the East China Sea. Photograph: Reuters

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Robert Fisher  
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# Iran's new head brings dialogue into the open

Robert Fisk  
Tehran

There are portraits of Rimboud and Braudel on the walls of Morad Saghaei's neat little Tehran office, along with piles of his latest magazine. And like the rest of his tiny staff, the francophone Mr Saghaei is a happy man, rejoicing in the extraordinary election victory of Mohamed Khatemi – not because of the new president's personality, but because of what his success represents.

"The people asked their candidate to take care of their day-to-day life and not only of their life after death," Mr Saghaei says, and pours himself a glass of scalding hot coffee to help him endure the baking hot Tehran afternoon.

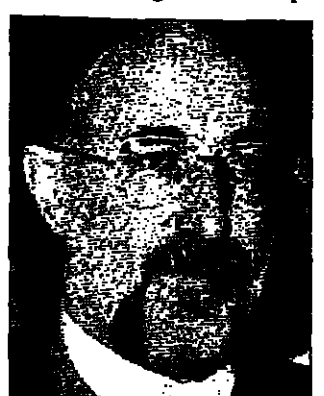
Could the defining moment in Iran's domestic life be better described? "The first thing everyone in the United States, Europe and elsewhere should realise," he goes on – the words confident and carefully phrased – "is that Iranian society is a lively political society, and that the things that made people come into the streets have changed in 15 years. They voted before because they supported anti-imperialism and the holy war and the dream of constructing a unified religious society. But this time the people went to the polls for love of freedom and more tolerance."

It is something dear to Mr Saghaei's heart. For his four-year-old magazine *Dialogue* is slowly becoming one of the most respectable intellectual publications in Tehran, a stimulating collection of articles on Iran's cultural and sociological problems, along with interviews with French philosophers, even with Gary Sick, the US National Security Council adviser during the Iranian hostage crisis.

"We want to talk about the Arab-Israeli problem, about our problems with America, our non-rational attitude on counting only on the Russians for our foreign policy," Mr Saghaei says. "We can be very frank and

we think this is because we didn't try to play the role of martyrs and say we are persecuted. What we print is what we think we can print. We try to know what the limits are – because that's the best way to push the limits a little bit further. We want to talk – and talk about the problems we can't find in the newspapers. Our latest issue contained seven articles about democracy and how it could be implemented in Iran."

*Dialogue* is a quarterly whose circulation has risen from 600, when it began four years ago, to 4,000. A quarter of the budget comes from advertising and the magazine costs only 50 pence. Mr Saghaei, who is 40, is an electrical engineer and keeps



Mohamed Khatemi: Will allow Iranians a 'place to talk'

the rent at bay with two other jobs – but this has not lowered the magazine's standards. The forthcoming election issue is likely to be among its most stimulating, asking readers to understand the implications as well as the results of the poll.

"Khatemi had three times more votes than [the speaker of parliament] Ali Akbar Nateq Nuri ... more than 90 per cent of the electorate voted – which means that Iranian society is not politically dead."

"Civil society here is very proud and is looking for a place to talk: at last they have this possibility with Khatemi."

*Dialogue* in no way opposes the Islamic revolution – indeed,

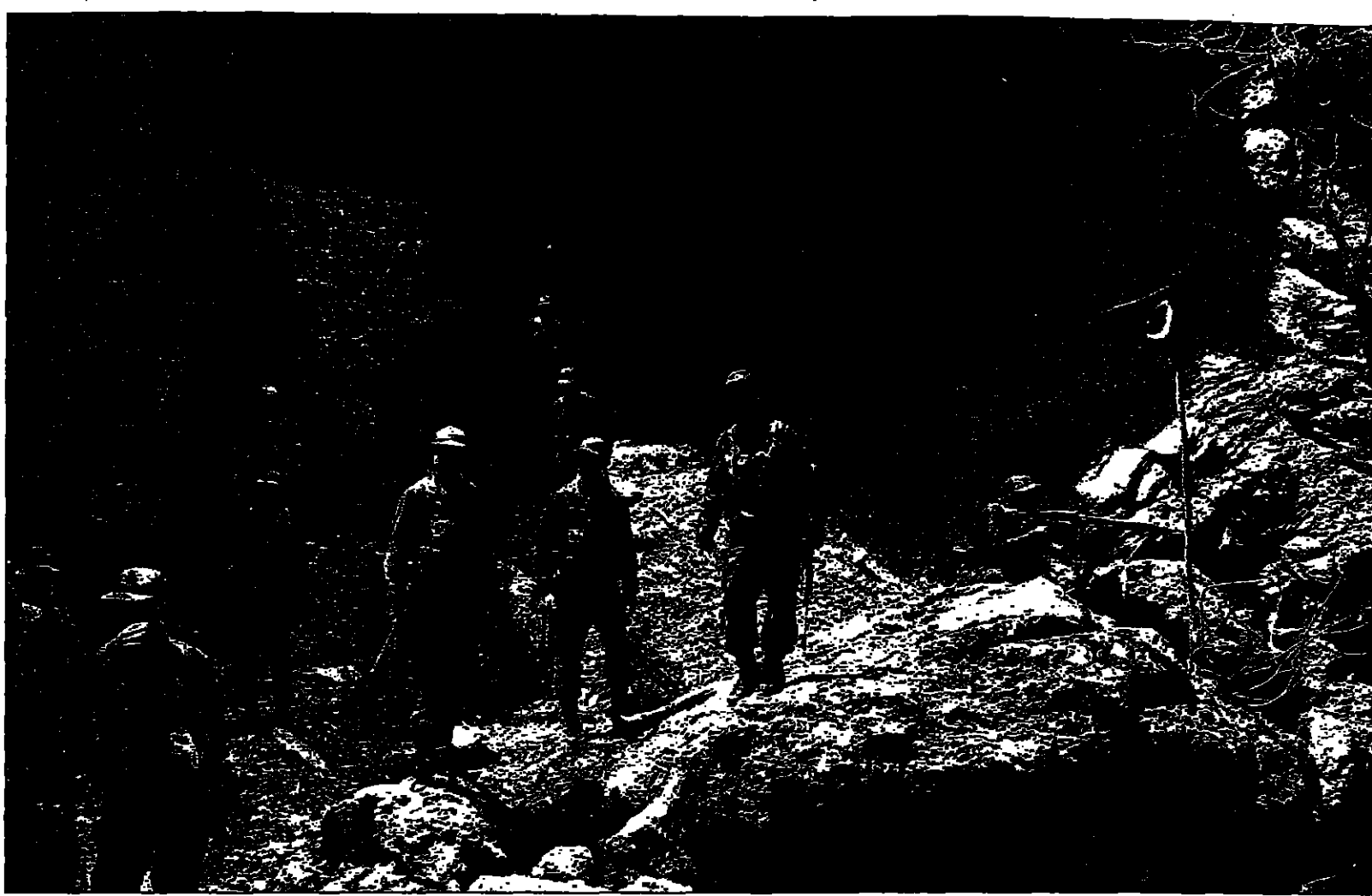
it totally accepts the Islamic Republic as a nation that is going to last. Mr Saghaei was outraged and frustrated when a Scandinavian reporter asked him if there would one day be a counter-revolution. "He had read and understood nothing about us," he says angrily. "I said to him: I'm just sending my child to school for the first time. It is an immense amount of work for a government to send 19 million children to school for the first time – so do you think this is a government that is expecting a coup?" He was ridiculous.

Morad Saghaei's little magazine and its graduate founders are important because they represent the intellectual society that has been waiting for a Khatemi to win the presidency. They were not uncritical of the new president, who holds a BA in philosophy and an MA in education, but have shrewdly noted that "his mind became more open after each speech he made", and, "as minister of Islamic Guidance, he gave a new life to the Iranian press".

Iranian intellectuals do not fall into the Western trap of believing that a power struggle is inevitable between President Khatemi and the conservative clerics who supported his rival in the elections. True, as Mr Saghaei points out, "every politician is limited by his electoral entourage"; but cohabitation between conservatives and liberals is not impossible in the next government.

Mr Saghaei, however, sitting in an office that smells of printer's ink and fresh coffee, has few illusions. No one here has forgotten the euphoria that greeted President Rafsanjani's first election victory eight years ago – and how his ambitions became blunted by the bureaucracy and internecine power-struggles that followed. "I don't know if Khatemi will continue as he has campaigned or become part of the establishment like the others," Mr Saghaei concludes.

"Yes, we all remember how happy we were at first after Rafsanjani's election."



Turkish soldiers at the Zap camp, northern Iraq, 25 kilometres south of Turkish border, captured from Kurdish PKK rebels on Saturday Photograph: Reuters

## Turkey hails rout of Kurdish foes

Army may outstay its welcome in northern Iraq, writes Christopher de Bellaigue in Ankara

As the Turkish offensive against Kurdish guerrillas in northern Iraq enters its 11th day, the generals who planned it are suggesting that modern Turkey's most extensive cross-border operation may turn into its longest.

The Turks have announced that large areas of northern Iraq are now clear of guerrillas from the Kurdish Workers Party (PKK), and that the main rebel camps have been destroyed. Now, some are saying it may be several months before their men leave the area.

They are playing up the success of the operation. The Turks say they have killed 1,750 guerrillas, more than double the number reported killed during the last comparable cross-border operation, in 1995. Important PKK camps at Atrus and Zap, lying 55km and 25km inside Iraqi territory, have been taken, and hundreds of tons of food and ammunition seized. If you believe the Turkish General Staff, this is one of the most successful operations in recent

warfare, and only 18 Turkish soldiers have been killed.

The trouble is, although it would believe this, although it would not be politic for Turkish newspapers, which faithfully reproduce the military's figures, to admit it. Non-military sources in Diyarbakir, the Turkish town which the PKK wishes to become capital of independent Kurdistan, estimate PKK dead at no more than 300. Likewise, the Turkish casualty figures are considered "miraculous". More scientific enumeration is difficult: journalists, whose shocking photographs of the 1995 operation helped to swing international opinion away from the Turks, were prevented from crossing the border for the first week of the operation.

Hostile international opinion is one reason why European diplomats in Ankara are not inclined to believe talk that the

operation will last until the autumn. Should the Turks remain in northern Iraq much longer than the 45 days they stayed in 1995, allies such as the Americans, who try to be supportive of such offensives, would get twitchy. So might Iraq, which despite being barred from crossing the 36th parallel into northern Iraq, has protested loudly. For the moment, however, the Turks are reassuring foreigners that the military's rhetoric has little foundation. Last Thursday's protest by Kurds inside the UN's European headquarters in Geneva was more noisy than well-attended.

One reason for this is that some Iraqi Kurdish leaders are happy for the Turks to intervene. Among them are Massoud Barzani, leader of the Kurdish Democratic Party (KDP), one of the two factions jostling for control of the region. Mr

Barzani is happy to take over the border areas that have been "liberated" by the Turks from the PKK. The KDP, which is providing military and logistic support for the Turks, claims that the PKK clears villages whose inhabitants support Mr Barzani and press-gangs youths into fighting the Turks.

While the KDP takes possession of land along the border, PKK guerrillas, who number no more than 4,000 in the region, appear to be heading east. Some have sought refuge in areas controlled by the KDP rival in the region, the PUK. Others may go further and enter Iran, which Turkey has often accused of harbouring PKK militants. Once across the border they will be untouchable. Iran says Turkish incursions into Iran, even in "hot pursuit" of PKK guerrillas, will meet with force.

In the long run, the Turks want to prevent the PKK from returning to their old camps in northern Iraq. But KDP support for Turkish presence in the region is not open-ended. Nor is the patience of the local population, which feels no more sympathy for the Turks than for the often thuggish PKK.

Turkey's objective is not to keep troops in northern Iraq at prohibitive expense but to broker a peace between the KDP and the PUK. This peace, the Turks hope, would produce the political stability which is necessary if the PKK is to be denied a permanent home.

Turkey's shorter-term objective is more modest. It is to cripple the PKK, so that the organisation is unable to launch attacks in late summer and autumn.

If the Turks can smash the PKK's logistics, delay the return of the guerrillas to northern Iraq and bolster their own morale with imaginative casualty figures, then their job will have been well done.

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# The end of an empire? Not quite

## FLYING THE FLAG

David Osborne  
Nassau  
and Andrew Marshall

There are rumblings in the colonies. Or rather, there are rumblings in the dependent territories, the term by which the patches of land still run from London are known.

All bar one are specks of colour on the map, where once whole swathes of continents were red. After the vast wave of decolonisation that began with India in 1947 and finishes with Hong Kong on 30 June, a mere handful of territories remain.

Only British Antarctic Territory (BAT) is of any great size. The largest by population is Bermuda.

They are, apart from BAT and Gibraltar, islands: most are relics of the days when the Royal Navy ruled the waves. Only two (Ascension Island and Diego Garcia) have any military significance now, and that is mainly for the Americans, not Britain. Many have been linked to Britain for centuries. Each has a governor, who will (from time to time) put on his plumed hat. He is the representative of the Queen; government is mostly run by him with a group of local representatives, with the precise balance of power different everywhere. Foreign affairs and defence rest with London, which can also use reserved powers to block, pass or supersede legislation.

None is likely to part company with Britain any time soon, which is why this probably is the end of Britain's long retreat from Empire. Yet that leaves the problem of ruling a very disparate and far-flung group of territories.

Three (the Falkland Islands, South Georgia and the South Sandwich Islands, and Gibraltar) are claimed by other states (the first two by Argentina, the last by Spain) and the inhabitants are fiercely intent on staying British. The remainder value the link for other reasons, whether because of old loyalties, commercial or political advantages or aid and trade. None of that means that the dependent

territories (DTs) are entirely happy, though. The primary cause of unhappiness is the British Nationality Act of 1981, which stripped them of full British citizenship and created the hybrid of British Dependent Territory Citizenship. Many see this as a second-class citizenship. Significantly, many point out, both Gibraltar and the Falkland Islanders were exempted from it; and both are populated largely by people of European stock. It seems to many people a straightforwardly racist piece of legislation.

The principal reason for the Act was to prevent an influx of immigrants from Hong Kong; but after June, that ceases to be an issue. Pamela Gordon, the Premier of Bermuda, acknowledges that debate about immigration rules before the handover of Hong Kong sparked fears in Britain of an invasion of Hong Kong Chinese. Such anxieties should not apply to Bermudians, she said, implying that few would actually feel tempted by British life.

"It is not as if every Bermudian is going to get up and go over to England; England is a country with many of its own



problems. When you are in a country that has one of the best per capita incomes in the world, the likelihood of scores of Bermudians picking up and emigrating to Britain would be slim to none."

None the less, all of the dependent territories that were affected by changes in British

nationality law will want some revision in their status. The rules particularly badly affect St Helena. There is very high unemployment on St Helena, yet the inhabitants still have to obtain work permits before they can work in Britain, the Falkland Islands or Ascension Island, their main places of

outside employment. "Saints," inhabitants of one of Britain's first colonies, feel badly let down. Though reports earlier this year of riots were untrue, there is a lot of bad feeling.

The remaining territories feel that they get important benefits from the Union Flag, despite the fact that many of the Caribbean dependencies are increasingly closer to the US than to Britain. Bermuda voted in a referendum only two years ago to stay British.

They are very geographically dispersed, with one group in the Caribbean, a scattering in the Atlantic, Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean and tiny Pitcairn Island in the Indian Ocean. Four (Gibraltar, Bermuda, the Falklands and the Cayman Islands) have representative offices in London. It is difficult to see how policymaking towards them can be anything but inconsistent.

The dependent territories all feel, to varying degrees, that they are misunderstood, neglected or misused by the Foreign Office, which administers them. "They don't always think when they're dealing with the DTs," says one source.

None the less, all resent the idea that they might be transferred to the new Ministry of International Development, seeing the FCO as a higher-profile home. "They would feel insulted" at a transfer, one source said.

All of them would like to have more of a voice in London, and especially with the Commonwealth. Though each is recognised by the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, which ties together the group's legislatures, none has any representation with the Commonwealth itself. The Government will be asked to press the issue ahead of the Commonwealth summit in Edinburgh in October. It is, as officials admit, a small point; but it is symptomatic of the neglect and ignorance from which the dependent territories feel they have suffered.

Tomorrow: Bermuda

## Citizens left behind press for rule change

Andrew Marshall  
David Osborne

Britain's remaining dependent territories will press for a relaxation of immigration rules once Hong Kong returns to the Chinese fold, senior officials have told *The Independent*.

Hong Kong is by far the largest of the remaining red specks on the map in population terms. When it is gone, what was once the world's largest empire will amount to 16 territories and about 200,000 people.

Destined to become the largest, in population terms, of Britain's remaining Dependent Territories after the handover of Hong Kong next month, Bermuda has served notice that it will press for a relaxation of the rules that force Bermudians into the "other countries" channel at

the Heathrow arrivals hall. "It's an irritant," said Pamela Gordon, the premier of Bermuda, in an interview with *The Independent*. She says she plans to raise a range of immigration issues with the Blair government following the Hong Kong transfer.

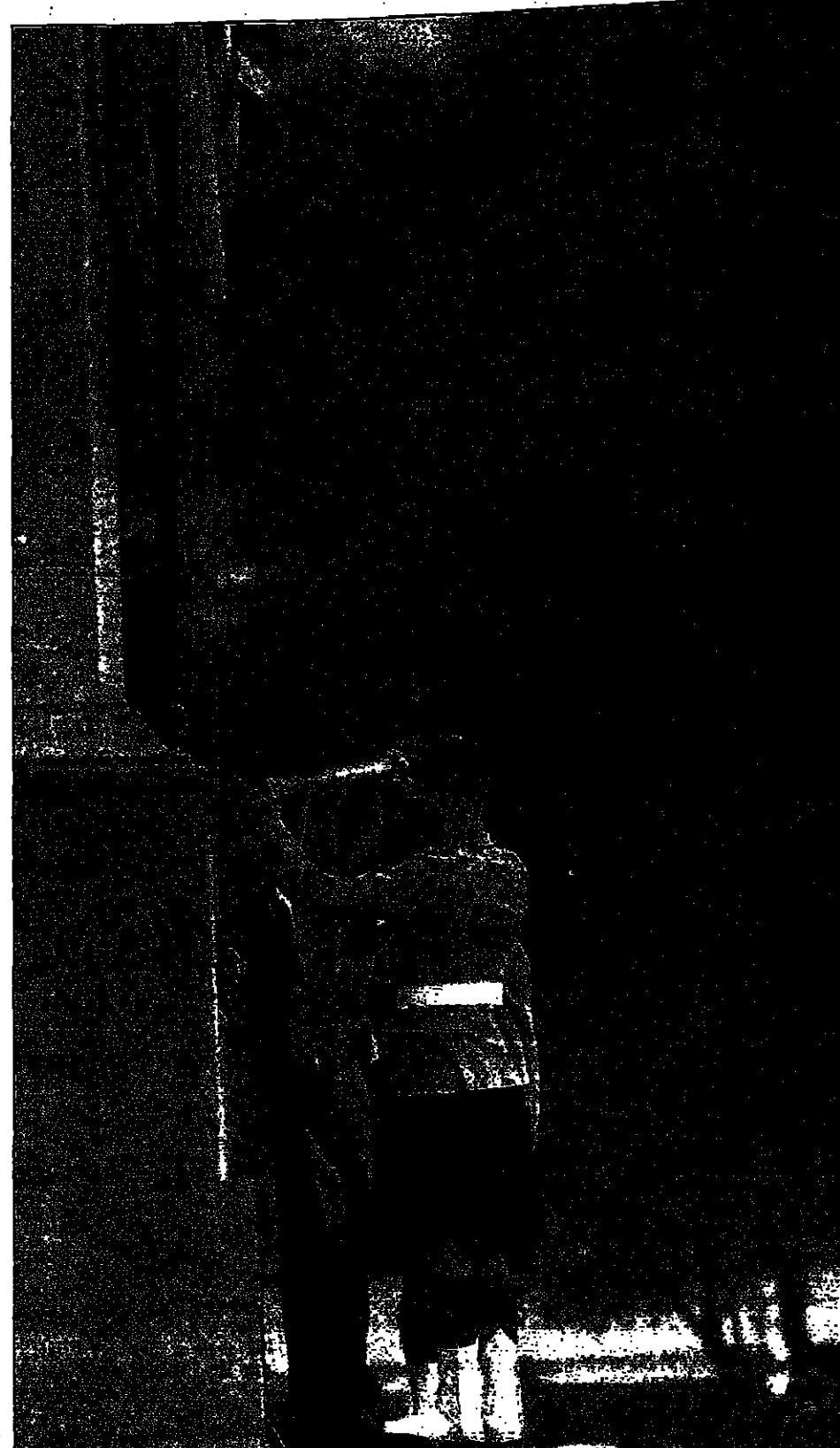
Any presentation to the Government will stop far short, however, of a request for full right of abode for Bermudians in the United Kingdom. Bermuda, a speck in the Atlantic, has no interest in such an arrangement if it would entail Britons gaining the equivalent right to settle without hindrance in Bermuda.

Other territories are also pressing for a change in the rules; they feel badly disadvantaged by the 1981 British Nationality Act. The population of St Helena, one of Britain's oldest colonies, feel they have been

made prisoners on their own island by the virtually worthless British Dependent Territories Citizen passports, issued mainly to prevent a flood of Hong Kong immigration to Britain.

But many of the territories want to press for a higher profile. Many feel hard done by the Foreign Office, which they call "thoughtless", and forgotten by the Government.

They are equally worried by suggestions that they may be transferred to Clare Short's Ministry for International Development. This would, in logic, they say, for those former colonies that are not aid recipients – the Falklands, Cayman Islands, Bermuda and Gibraltar. But more than that, they feel it would be a downgrading, and, according to an official from one, "a slap in the face".



Relics of rule: The days of lowering the Union Flag each morning in Hong Kong are numbered, but remaining territories are unlikely to part company with Britain. Photograph: Tom Pilton

## Race-hate ads add a nasty new flavour to Canada poll

Hugh Winsor  
Ottawa

A series of attack television advertisements from the west Canada based Reform Party, claiming that Quebec-born political leaders such as the Prime Minister, Jean Chrétien, cannot be trusted to deal with national unity, has injected a nasty note of ethnic prejudice into Canada's election campaign.

The television commercials, which feature unflattering photographs of Mr Chrétien, the Conservative Party Leader Jean Charest, the Bloc Québécois Leader Gilles Duceppe and the Quebec Premier, Lucien Bouchard, began running on public and private networks on the weekend.

The tracking poll by Reuters-Zogby on Sunday showed support for Reform had grown from 16.9 to 19.3 per cent.

The attempt to blame prominent Quebec-based politicians for Canada's problems of national unity because of their Frenchness marks the first time in a modern federal election campaign that any party has explicitly targeted Quebecers because of their ethnicity or their language.

The airing of the advertisements prompted a barrage of criticism of the Reform Party Leader, Preston Manning, for stirring up English-French tension to shore up his party's support in western Canada and to

attempt to snag rural voters in Ontario, the province which delivers one-third of the seats to the Canadian parliament and which is seen as a stronghold for Mr Chrétien and the Liberal Party.

The new, frontal attack on Quebecers appears to be a response to the recent surge in support for Mr Charest at the expense of Bloc Québécois, the branch of the Quebec separatist movement which runs candidates in federal elections.

"If anybody hates Quebec, and if anybody hates the French, or if you hate anybody at all, then go to the Reform Party, because they are the party of hate"

Mr Manning is counting on his Reform Party replacing the Bloc as the official opposition in parliament, a move that could be the stepping stone to power in the next election, four years away.

The Conservative revival, propelled by Mr Charest's performance, is threatening the Manning scenario on two counts. If the federalist Conservatives are seen to be doing

well in Quebec, this is likely to have an echo in English-speaking Canada, especially in Ontario. Secondly, if the Bloc Québécois appears to be fading, it is harder to argue that a tough anti-Quebec party, such as Reform, is needed to counteract it.

There are already some indications that the advertisements could backfire, by stressing the extremist image of the Reform Party, which it has been trying to play down.

One of Mr Charest's Conservatives attempted to inject some humour into the situation by telling audiences in various communities in Ontario that the Conservative Party did not require people to produce their birth certificates to attend his rallies.

"The suggestion that where you are born should determine whether you should be prime minister of the country is, to say the least, offensive," Mr Charest added. It's obvious Mr Manning's campaign has reached a new low.

The leader of the Reform Party has now said the commercials may have been misinterpreted and that he has nothing against Quebecers, only that they have dominated the debate about national unity for too long.

The Reform Party has virtually no support in Quebec and is only fielding candidates in 5 of the 75 Quebec ridings. Nevertheless, Mr Manning claims that his proposal to reduce the scope of the national government and to decentralise most of its functions to the various provincial governments, including the Quebec government, is a viable strategy for national unity.

The Prime Minister is also attempting to confront Mr Manning directly on the issue and will be spending the next two days in Alberta and British Columbia, where the Reform Party has most support.

## significant shorts

### Sierra Leone coup force hunts down ex-ministers

Troops in Sierra Leone's capital searched houses looking for ministers of the former civilian government yesterday, a day after a military council seized power. Military sources said five former ministers were detained at the military headquarters. South Africa joined the United Nations and the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in condemning Sunday's coup, which put an end to just over a year of civilian rule.

The coup leaders, led by Major Johnny Paul Koromah said they wanted to bring rebels of the Revolutionary United Front into the government to consolidate an elusive peace in the civil war.

Reuters - Freetown

### Kabila bans rivals' rallies

President Laurent Kabila's administration banned all activities of political parties and public demonstrations in the capital of Zaire, Kinshasa, until further notice, citing a need to ensure security.

The crackdown followed a weekend decision by the veteran opposition leader Etienne Tshisekedi to stage fresh protest marches in the city tomorrow and Friday.

US officials in Paris said that the Secretary of State, Madeleine Albright, is to send the UN ambassador Bill Richardson for the first senior-level US talks with Mr Kabila since the former rebel took power in the Democratic Republic of Congo. He will push for a broad-based government that would pursue economic and political reforms.

Reuters - Kinshasa

### Churches condemn burning

Religious leaders denounced a weekend arson attack on a Lübeck church by right-wing extremists and vowed it would not influence their campaign to uphold the rights of asylum-seekers in Germany. Suspected neo-Nazis daubed swastikas on the facade of St Vicelin Church and started a fire which spread to the church early on Sunday. They also scrawled the name of a local priest whose parish is sheltering a family of asylum-seekers to prevent their deportation to Algeria.

Reuters - Bonn

### Louvre reopens after strike

The Louvre museum reopened yesterday after striking guards ended a five-day blockade in exchange for a promise of talks with the management over their grievances.

Reuters - Paris

### Clinton recalls war sacrifice

President Bill Clinton led a Memorial Day tribute to the nation's war dead and warned that the United States must meet its responsibilities to avoid mistakes that led to past wars. Using the backdrop of white tombstones that fill Arlington National Cemetery, Virginia, he set the stage for his trip to Europe this week, designed to deal with a post-Cold War Europe.

Reuters - Washington

### Vet keeps his mouth shut

An Indian vet on a hunger strike in protest against unemployment yesterday stitched his lips together to avoid being forcibly fed, the Press Trust of India said.

The news agency said Partha Pratim Kar, on strike for 17 days, had been without a job since he completed his training in 1991 in the northeastern state of Tripura.

Reuters - New Delhi

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**THE World of Lily Wong** by LARRY FEIGN © 1997

LILY, WE HAVE TO GET OUT OF HONG KONG! CAN YOU IMAGINE CRYSTAL GROWING UP IN A COMMUNIST COUNTRY?

I DENOUNCE MY PARENTS AS COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY SUBVERSIVE RUNNING DOGS!

SHE COULD BE GROWING UP IN AMERICA!

DAD, CAN I BORROW SOME MONEY FOR CRACK AND BULLETS? I GAVE MY ALLOWANCE TO MY CULT.

COULD WORSE.

مجلس من الشورى



# Europe must listen to the French electorate

Genuine Europhiles will take heart from the French election result for the good and simple reason that co-operation and integration will not work unless they are based on popular endorsement expressed periodically by national electorates. No agreement, no extra measures of integration. Genuine Europhiles do not hang on every communiqué issued from summits in Brussels or Dutch seaside resorts. Instead, the Europe of their imagining is a popular edifice, built – necessarily gradually – on the assent of the inhabitants of this and other member countries to empirical measures to liberalise trade and movement while moving towards common-sense harmonisation of standards in tax and employment. It cannot be a rush job.

Sunday's result in France is ambiguous in all sorts of ways but clear in this respect – a large number of French men and women are unhappy both with the prospect of a single currency and the way it is being prepared for. A pause for further thought would now be welcome, especially if it were accompanied by measures to alleviate the national sore of youth joblessness. (No one should pretend that that is going to be easy. French unemployment has as much to do with state social costs as deflation for the sake of joining the single currency.) Nonetheless, if Lionel Jospin forms a government after next weekend's runoff, he will be committed to a major

change of focus in negotiations over EMU. That may scupper the project as conceived by Chancellor Kohl and the Germans. The socialists' advance should thus emphasise the wisdom of Tony Blair's warning at the Noordwijk summit last week – that there has to be more focus on "the issues that matter to the people".

There should be no mistaking the radicalism of that frame of reference. There is no popular backing for a common currency in France; German misgivings are suppressed only by the suffocating hold Chancellor Kohl has on Bonn politics. Meanwhile, if the people not just of this country but of the other member states were directly consulted, scant evidence of support would be found for much of the treaty on further integration which Mr Blair, Kohl and the rest were in Holland to start negotiating. Maas-tricht II, as it is dubbed, is for the most part neither necessary nor wished for. Given the stance taken by the British government and the desire among other leaders to palliate Mr Blair, it now looks as if the new treaty will be a minimalist document. It will be all the better for that. Go through the clauses and mark them in terms of popular will.

Some do attract support. Under the Social Chapter, there is a balance to be struck between British labour market liberalism and Continental controls. Labour is right to make a sticking point of the national border. There

clearly is a difference of view, as there should be, between this country and, say, the Dutch, Belgians and other Schengen countries (though the coherence of that group has yet to survive the accession of the Greeks) which suggests this issue should not become Euro-law. Far better to let co-operation develop piecemeal, as for example in the joint passport and customs control regime now in operation on Eurostar.

There is, without a doubt, an enervating gap between popular sentiment and the institutions of European union – a gap which the European Parliament might eventually but certainly has not

yet begun to fill. It is a gap deepened whenever ministers and presidents and chancellors attend summits but fail to return full of explanation – to report back on the benefits of Europrojects. Enthusiasts for closer European co-operation often quite rightly bemoan the absence of advocacy of the benefits of membership, as when Cornish fishermen drive to protest meetings along roads partly paid for by the European regional budget. That advocacy ought also to take the form of explanation.

This is what has gone missing in France. Jacques Delors now says – in order to keep his socialist colleagues on

the straight and narrow – that the common currency plan was always intended to be about social justice; that an "economic government", is political control, was always meant to be built into the operations of the European central bank. But he has done a remarkably poor job in keeping his fellow citizens up to speed, and convincing them that French deflation really is a price worth paying.

The reason he has not done so is because the single currency has, hitherto, been a scheme of political and economic elites whose arguments are to some extent based on unproven theories. In Sarcelles and other benighted suburbs of French cities, they need more convincing. If M Jospin cannot manage, he should pull out.

As they contemplate this French result, Messrs Blair and Cook should draw two lessons. One – as if they needed it, given results in Putney and elsewhere a month ago – is the utter irrelevance of organised or ideological Euro-scepticism. The French electorate may be confused but it is in no identifiable sense anti-Europe. But what manner of Europe? The British leaders should hold hard to their expressed intent of fashioning European institutions that speak to people's lives and interests and sentiments. It would be boastful for the British to claim that the landscape of European politics has changed with the advent here of Labour. Yet even a cursory comparison

between what Mr Blair brings to the party and what M Jospin or indeed the putative substitutes for Herr Kohl such as Gerhard Schröder have to offer is telling. When Labour talks about offering Europe new leadership, it is not because they have some kind of future map – such historicist pretensions have no place. The leadership Europe needs is one that understands and communicates with the people of Europe.

## Time to pardon wronged soldiers

There can be no statute of limitations on seeking to right a past wrong, especially one that involves the Government, which has the capacity to change its official mind. All the evidence suggests that during the First World War, numbers of British soldiers were wrongly convicted and executed for alleged desertion from the front. Some people might think, given the nature of that war, that desertion was no ignoble act. But the campaigners' point is that British military tribunals erred and official records need to be amended. The new government should respond warmly to requests to re-examine the files. It should, however, proceed on a case-by-case basis, since any blanket issuing of pardons might in itself perpetrate an injustice.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### Human rights: beware the Kiwi model

Sir: You report (23 May) that the Conservative Party has dropped its opposition to the incorporation of the European Convention on Human Rights. This is very good news. For the first time we will have positive rights to privacy and fair trial, freedoms of expression, religion and assembly. However, the real test of the commitment of the new parliament will be whether it is prepared to allow the courts to give a higher status to the convention than other legislation.

The Canadians have managed to develop devices that preserve the sovereignty of their parliament whilst also giving rights the importance they deserve within the constitution. The alternative model being discussed comes from New Zealand, which remains inadequate. In New Zealand, where there is a conflict between rights and statute, statute prevails. In this country, this would mean that the individual who was able to show to the satisfaction of the domestic court that his or her convention rights had been violated would nevertheless lose the case. The "loser" would then still have to petition the commission in Strasbourg for redress.

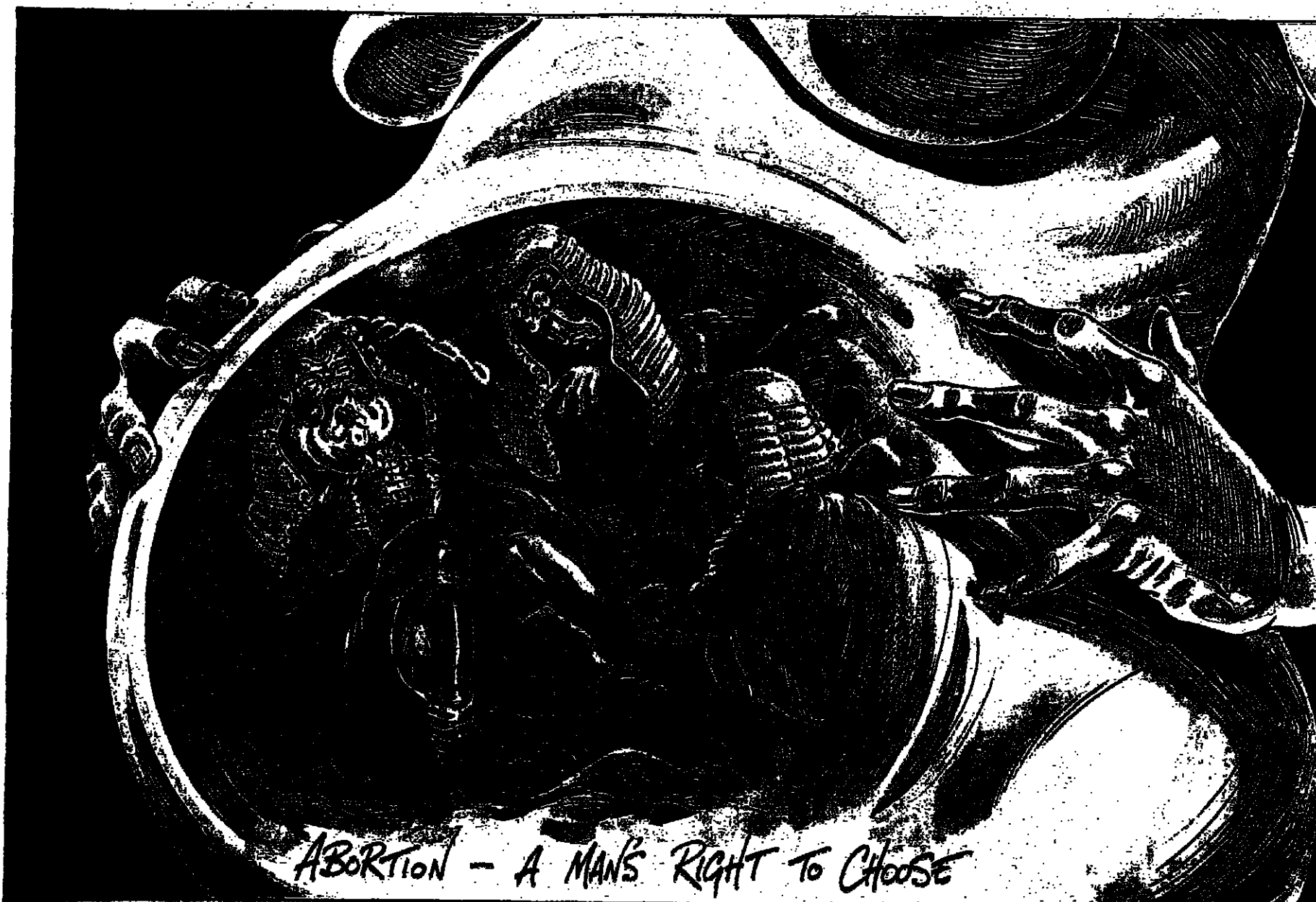
The Labour Party's consultation paper, published in December, proposes that Parliament would be expected to change the law in any case where the domestic courts had found that the primary legislation did not comply with the convention. Unfortunately if it did not do so the domestic courts would be powerless to do anything other than to remind Parliament every time a similar case came along.

The danger with this approach is of course, that if a case concerned an unpopular group of people, such as suspected terrorists, travellers or protesters, or was controversial in some other way, as many human rights cases are, then Parliament might never get round to changing the law. The law would then be in a mess, with the courts finding resolutions and Parliament taking no action to remedy the situation. Finally, after another five or so years the "loser" might succeed in Strasbourg, obliging the Government then to make the necessary reforms.

JOHN WADHAM  
Director, Liberty  
London SE1

### Father's fight against abortion

Sir: Abortion is a thorny subject; but I was stung by your report (23 May) about the Kells from Dr. Patrick Wynn. Dr. Wynn states that "an interpretation in favour of fathers would be tantamount to treating pregnant women as mere receptacles for child-bearing". Would not an interpretation in favour of the wife be tantamount to treating fathers as sperm donors? So much is expected of the New Man – that he be involved in the pregnancy, in labour, in the birthing process, in the nurturing of the new baby – is it unreasonable to expect that he might want a degree of involvement in the death sentence too? Wouldn't we brand this particular father an uncaring monster if he simply stood aside and said, "Yes, let it die"? I sympathise with the powerlessness he must feel.



I am a happy mother who would hate to live in a country where abortion was not available to women in need – but I cannot justify the use of abortion as a means of birth control. Mrs Kelly insists that no one can force her to have a child. Did anyone force her to conceive it?

WILNA WHITE  
Barton-le-Clay, Bedfordshire

### West must rein Turkey in

Sir: The UN Secretary-General is right to point out that Turkey's invasion of Iraq is a transgression of Iraq's territorial integrity ("Turks ignore UN's mercy call for Kurds", 19 May) and contrary to the United Nations Charter. The invasion also adds further instability in the region. It was an illegal act and western governments should be demanding Turkey's immediate withdrawal.

Your correspondent also refers to a call to arms from the PKK leader Abdullah Ocalan, and quotes him calling on his people to fight. This is hardly surprising given Turkey's blatant aggression, its denial of basic human rights to the Kurds, the destruction of homes and villages, and murder of civilians including women and children.

However, Mr Ocalan has said that he is not demanding secession from Turkey or changes in recognised national boundaries. He offered a ceasefire under international supervision in return for talks with Turkey without any other preconditions.

The ball is in Turkey's court, but western governments must ensure that Turkey accepts this offer. If

gentle persuasion does not succeed, then they should end all political and military aid to Turkey forthwith. This duty war of genocide against the Kurds has got to stop.

JOHN AUSTIN MP  
(Eritrean and Thamesmead, Lab)  
House of Commons  
London SW1

### Life after ban on tobacco cash

Sir: Australia has recent experience with a government ban on tobacco sponsorship of sporting and cultural events (Letters, 22, 24 May). As is now occurring in Britain, many sporting groups feared that the bans would devastate their sports. They argued that because tobacco companies were excluded from print, broadcast, cinema and outdoor advertising, they had open chequebooks to sponsor sport to levels way beyond the rate set by companies who had the choice of using these other advertising media.

However, the post-ban situation is salutary. The 13-year Rothmans sponsorship of Rugby League ended in 1995, with Rothmans spending A\$5m in cash in addition to paying for promotions. In 1996, this was replaced with A\$5m from a telecommunications company (Optus), with a promise of A\$8m per year until a A\$40m package has been achieved. In addition, Qantas paid A\$4m for naming rights to the finals series.

Ansett airlines replaced Benson.

& Hedges sponsorship of the cricket season. Apart from Australia's 3-0 loss to England, there are no signs that the health of Australian cricket has suffered.

The TV, radio, cinema, billboard and publishing industries have all survived tobacco advertising bans. The Australian experience shows that sport can, too.

Associate Professor SIMON CHAPMAN  
Chair, Action on Smoking and Health  
Woolloomooloo, New South Wales

Sir: Clive Turner of the Tobacco Manufacturers' Association (Letter, 24 May) refuses to talk about addiction and talks instead of choice and pleasure. I made a single choice when I was 14 or 15 which has committed me to a daily expenditure at current prices of about £7 and damage to my health and the health of my family. I have frequently made the choice to stop smoking, but I'm not up to it.

JON GRAY  
Bath

### Spread the green revolution

Sir: Lord Rogers' maiden speech setting out his vision for an urban revolution (report, 21 May) is to be welcomed, and I hope he gets the support necessary to make it happen.

However, I have reservations about the way the debate seems to be centring on London. It seems sad that Professor Smith, the chairman of a national organisation, in writing a letter to a national newspaper (Letters, 24 May), can think of no examples to quote from outside central London.

Compared with most other major British cities and to the largely dull and dreary London suburbs, central London is already a remarkably green and attractive place. By all means let us have an urban revolution, but let it be a far-reaching national revolution, not just a showcase in central London.

CHRIS WOOD  
Reading, Berkshire

### When it's bad to talk

Sir: The argument (leading article, 24 May) that using a mobile phone in a car is no more of a distraction than talking to a passenger or entertaining a child is spurious.

A passenger is aware of the road conditions that the driver is dealing with. In potentially hazardous situations he or she will usually have the sense to shut up. A child can be told that Mum or Dad is too busy to talk just now. Telephone callers are not aware of the traffic conditions, and it is not so easy for the driver to request them to shut up, particularly if they are senior colleagues or customers. That is why hands-off phones, though preferable to the hand-held variety, are still a distraction that should not be used while driving.

MICHAEL PRICE  
Twyford, Berkshire

### Finder of the massacre files

Sir: The statement in your article "Jews massacred in Holocaust test-run" (20 May) that my "discovery of parallel files in the American archives forced the British disclosure" of the wartime British

transcripts of the German police and SS radio traffic needs to be corrected.

The American holdings of three files of the decrypts were released to public inspection as a result of the efforts of a friend and colleague, Professor Richard Breitman of the American University in Washington DC, under the auspices of the American Freedom of Information Act.

Dr JOHN P FOX  
Lecturer in Jewish History and Holocaust Studies  
Jews' College  
London NW4

### Ministry slips on apple skin

Sir: For some time now I have been washing fruit before feeding it to my seven-year-old son, believing that this would remove the pesticide residue on the skin. I had heard that the Ministry of Agriculture suggest this as a precaution.

Sparked by recent reports of pesticide levels six times above the recommended minimum being found in apples, I rang the ministry to check that I was washing thoroughly enough. The young press officer was vague: "Well, you just run them under the tap, give them a rinse." Irritated by his casualness I pushed further, demanding to know exactly how thoroughly to wash the fruit and on what basis of research it was shown that this would have an effect. "I'll have to get back to you," he said.

Two days later came back the reply: "Sorry, it makes no difference whatsoever. You can't wash pesticide off fruit because it is absorbed into the skin. Peeling is the only solution." I was shocked, as I'm sure many other parents will be, and felt misled by the ministry's advice to wash fruit.

Pesticides are tasteless – that's the fundamental problem. With North Sea Gas, which is odourless, they add a compound so that you can smell it if there's a leak. Surely we could do the same with pesticides, so that above a certain residue level you could taste the stuff. The consumers would then regulate the industry more effectively and cheaply than any government department could ever do.

PIERS PARTRIDGE  
Bristol

### Japanese flush

Sir: On a recent visit to Japan I was impressed by their ingenious way of not wasting water in the lavatory.

Their cistern is not directly behind the lavatory, but at one side. It is triangular. Its top is a neat, three-cornered hand basin without a plug above which is the water pipe. When you flush the lavatory, water flows via the hand basin, in which you are washing your hands, to fill the cistern. One single quantity of water washes hands and flushes the lavatory. Simplicity itself, and a huge saving.

MARJORIE HEATH  
Diss, Norfolk



## essay

# Home sweet home, for the golden family

Rising demand for housing is creating a building boom in the countryside. Jonathan Glancey visits St Michaels Mead, Hertfordshire and finds an estate fit for a fantasy of traditional living

"Ask a child to draw a house," suggests Roger Humber, director of the House Builders Federation, "and you can be pretty sure of the result." You can? "Definitely. It will have a pitched roof, tall chimney, door in the middle and four square windows." We also know that the sun will be shining and that, even for children from single-parent families, a stick mummy and a stick daddy are likely to be smiling, arms spread wide, to greet us. We know this vision only too well, for as well as being the child's ideal of house and home, it is the one that stays with most of us throughout our lives.

In reality, the size and ambition of the adult home will vary with income, taste and way of life, yet as Mr Humber will tell you, the ideal is much the same for people up and down the country and up and down the salary scale. Just as well really, for experts are agreed that over the next 20 years up to 4.4 million new homes will be built in Britain to cope with the rising number of households, which is not the same thing as a rise in population. Eighty per cent of these new homes will be bought by single people, the "least predictable segment of the market", according to Mr Humber. By this he means that single people are no longer stereotypical bachelors and spinsters. Their ranks include single parents, those who have divorced, and many who have lovers, children and other dependents – all of whom will want a room of their own when sleeping over. "Single people are buying four- and five-bedroom houses," says Mr Humber, "so housebuilders would be unwise to invest in a state of one-bedroom flats thinking this is the way the market's going. It isn't."

This might all be true, but it doesn't explain why the brochures handed out by Britain's leading housebuilders (a handful of whom dominate the market) stick to the dream of the gleaming family living in perfect harmony in their "unique" and "traditional" home, set among green fields and birdsong. The brochure I was given by a very nice sales lady at St Michaels Mead (any relation to Miss Marple's St Mary Mead?) – "a traditional new village community being created by Countrywide Properties plc on the outskirts of the historic market town of Bishop's Stortford in Hertfordshire" (just look at these words, nearly every one heavily loaded) – is a celebration of the mythical golden family. The hunky blond husband in New Labour weekend gear tosses his blonde, pony-tailed daughter, who sports pastel-coloured leisurewear, into the squeaky-clean air as a sparkling blonde wife lays a manicured hand lightly on his manly shoulder and grins with confidence.

Here's dad again, this time walking along a sunlit path in spotless sneakers, carrying one golden child on one arm, one on the other and a third on his broad shoulders. Not a splash of mud on the children's dungarees, much less a tear or pout on their angelic pink faces. They're on bicycles in a third picture. The son rides serenely on his brand-new bicycle, but his sister needs stabilisers (girls!) and dad, not a hair out of place, lends her a strong, guiding hand. Finally, we see the kids running across an immaculate lawn chasing a puppy which looks as if it might have been sponsored by Andrex; even the dog's blond.

Perhaps your family is exactly like the St Michaels family. Even if it isn't, they really must exist in these smart new traditional houses, each of which "complements and enhances the environ-



mental quality of the area". Hundreds of acres of Green Belt land have been given up to build these new homes, so the least you would expect of the families moving in is that they are model citizens. I happen to know that they are: the extraordinary quietness that envelopes me at St Michaels Mead early on a weekday afternoon tells me so. Nothing stirs. The men – neat, clipped, fit, Aryan – have driven off to work in the gleaming company Rover or BMW. The women – ever smiling, pert and competent – are out shopping at the Tesco superstore nearby, dreaming up exciting menus for hubby's supper (women!). The children are doing well at school.

Meanwhile, in this shrink-wrapped land, no birds sing. There are no animals. Flora is neatly docked and carefully tended. Well-mannered young men, employed by the developers, mow communal lawns, reducing them to crew-cut stubble. You feel it would be wrong to whistle or sing. You certainly wouldn't fire up a powerful motorbike here on a Sunday morning.

It's this enveloping silence that disturbs me as I arrive in a taxi from Bishop's Stortford station. I'm missing the city already. But I want to brave this out: urban bigot confronts the English dream in the guise of The Shropshire, a five-bedroom, double-garaged house

at the heart of the estate. The Shropshire's a snip at £179,950, especially when the price includes fitted Neff kitchen (fridge-freezer, dishwasher), a choice of fire surrounds and, for one week only, fully fitted carpets. It is exciting, this idea of turning the key in a Kentucky Fried Georgian front door and entering a germ-free new house with no history, but ready and waiting for that golden family to move in.

I think The Shropshire must be hoping I will go away. "Please don't choose me," it seems to say. "I don't want a long-haired, Bohemian, beatnik type with a scruffy old mongrel in tow. I want a proper man who sports razor-sharp creases in his brand-new chinos. I want a golden retriever pup that will never grow old and bendy. I don't want an old Jag or a common motorbike in the garage. I want a virginal company car and a polished off-roader for weekends."

"Don't worry Shropshire," I whisper to the ideal family house of the future (a very traditional future). "I promise not to buy you. I'll scuttle back to the city where, in the shadow of St Paul's, I can hear blackbirds sing and watch urban foxes lift the EC1 dustbin lids in search of early breakfasts, and where the sound of market lorries and motorbikes gives way to church bells on Sundays."

For a few minutes, though, as I listen in rapture to the enticing sales spiel,

I feel I too might want to be a part of the brave and Blairy world of gleaming families in brand-new houses. I'm sure I could if I gave in to a house like this. Just imagine... En-suite bathroom with separate shower. A second bathroom for the "kids". En-suite shower off bedroom number five for the au pair or mother-in-law (mothers-in-law!). Cue to play golf with the lads, sinking a few pints afterwards at the traditional refurbished pub down the lane.

I have never owned a new car (the youngest is my current Jag, which is 10) and nothing like a new home (the youngest was built in 1860 in a late-flourishing Italianate style). So naturally, I am awed by a home that has the smell of a new car and promises to run equally well. Yes, the windows are much smaller than in old, as opposed to new, traditional houses (something to do with insulation), and the plastic window frames are not quite like those of old-style historic houses (my 1715 sashes rattle in the wind and could never be described as air-light). The swirly Artex ceilings are rather a whizz, but I'm not quite man enough for them, preferring my plaster plain. As for traditional deep-pile, wall-to-wall cream carpets, I know I would spill red wine or coffee on them as soon as look at them. No need to worry about soot, ash or scorch marks though; one of the best things about these new olde-worldie houses is

that the chimneys are purely decorative. Nice.

An equally happy touch is the smart plastered finish given to the capacious garages. This is so you can adapt one of them into a playroom (kids!) or put in a workbench and get down to some serious DIY. Hubby could even take up a hobby, or build a model railway (men! just like boys, really).

It's no use, Shropshire. You're right. When it comes down to it, I don't understand you any more than you want me. I would prefer a timber shack on the edge of the wildest sea to this ersatz traditionalism, this centrally heated cocoon designed to shield sales-brochure families from an increasingly imperfect world.

My idiosyncrasies, however, don't mean a damn thing to Britain at large. Of those 4.4 million new homes, the vast majority will be variations on the theme of the Shropshire. They will be the Victorian semis of our day.

Of course they are not, despite the reassuring words of the material promoting them, in any way traditional. They are, beneath a veneer of Tudor beams and pseudo-Georgian details, as modern as Ford Galaxy. They are rational, minutely costed structures on which a child's drawing of a home has been grafted. Not only are they not traditional, they are not particularly British. The vast new Hertfordshire estate I visited this week is based on north American city-edge prototypes. The sales blurb talks of villages, but St Michaels Mead and its many sibling estates have nothing in common with historic English villages. This makes sense: we have

adopted American ways of living, from clothes to food, from the games we play to the words we say to the places we shop, and now the new traditional homes we are building.

There is no getting away from the fact that if we need (or is it want?) all these new homes, we will have to build on land that would otherwise be left green. It is very unlikely that a large percentage of these new homes will be built on "brownfield" sites on the fringe of twilight cities. Golden families (or the people who think they are) want greenery and space and cars and golf courses and safe schools and supermarkets. You can safely expect housebuilders to be steered away from the Green Belt where there is some room (redundant aerodromes, the grounds of former mental hospitals, land around edge-of-town retail centres), but the reality is that we can't have all the houses we want in the style we want ("new traditional") without gobbling up fields where birds once nested and poppies waved.

Those of us who question the wisdom of this relentless home-making in the old shires will always be a minority. Neither golden nor perfect, we should keep to our eccentric lairs in the city or by the sea-shore. Middle England might not be very English any more but it is on the rise, and whether you like it or not, it will soon be spilling into the green fields of yore.

## The curse of the cheerful personality

That estimable magazine, *Prospect*, has pulled off something of a coup in its current edition. What is most unusual is that it does not come in the form of an article by a disgruntled politician, or as a piece of investigative journalism. Instead, it takes the shape of a short story by the famous author Frederic Raphael, whose tale features the narrator's relationship over the years with one Methuselah Soames. Soames himself is an awesome polymath, but he is also a windbag, a dilettante and, ultimately, a moral failure. In the end, Soames fails to write the novel that he has always been promising, but succeeds nonetheless in convincing the world that the book he hasn't written is far more important than all the novels that the narrator has.

Soames is Jonathan Miller – no two ways about it – right down to the stammer. This clear identification makes more interesting the claim in the story that Soames indulged in a bit of horizontal li-crit with a princess (almost certainly Margaret), telling her "she was beneath him".

when (according to Raphael) "some even say that at the time, it was literally true".

Now, Miller is clever and successful enough to make many uncomfortable. He directs plays and operas, is a wit, a raconteur and a qualified doctor. Peter Mandelson probably visits his house for tea, where they paint watercolours together. But what on earth has he done to justify this piece of fictive vilification? The man himself was bemused. "Raphael has gone mad!" said Miller, speaking from (where else?) Florence.

There are on offer (according to the *Sunday Times*) two explanations for this bit of literary spite. The first has it that Mr Miller got into an altercation with Mr Raphael's son at a Chelsea cinema recently. Tempers flared and Miller repeatedly called Raf Jr a "\*\*\*\*\*". I find this hard to believe. What (in a Chelsea cinema) could excite such passions? A yawn during a protracted screen suicide? A fatuous remark about the influence of Noh theatre upon *Les Enfants du Paradis*? And what do the asterisks stand



David Aaronovitch

for? My guess is "floutant caissist" – a dreadful insult. This was followed by the ultimate "my dad'll get you" revenge – "my dad'll write a short story about you. Then you'll be sorry!"

The second explanation was given by Jonathan's spouse, Dr Rachel Miller, who recalls that – 40 years earlier – she and Jonathan had not turned up to a Raphaelite dinner party. "He was angry and accused us of insulting behaviour, although so far as I can remember, we simply forgot." It is entirely

typical of female social sensibility that she should recall an occasion that her husband has almost certainly long forgotten.

But can this conceivably be true? I don't mean is this true or not. I do not know the protagonists personally, so I cannot say. No, I mean, can this be true? Is it possible? Can we believe that an intelligent, successful man such as Frederic Raphael could hold a grudge about a shunned dinner party four decades after the last profiteer was cleared from the table?

Consider what has happened since 1957. We do not own most of Africa, and there is no Soviet Union. Tens of thousands of novels have been written, plays and operas produced, and millions of people have been born and died. In 40 years, the protagonists themselves must have changed a great deal, weathered by loss and love. Could anyone fall out over something so small and maintain the animosity for so long?

They can indeed, for there is such a thing as the one-way feud. The cheerful, careless

person turns up to this party and shuns that one as convenience dictates. It is of little significance, after all. Nor are they worried if others treat them in the same way. They are secure and tolerant.

But consider Maleficent in *Sleeping Beauty*. The invitation to the christening has gone astray, or there are too few gold plates to go round. So she gatemashes the party, lays a curse on the princess, and – sure enough – turns up 16 years later to do the wicked deed. She must have been really, really pissed off.

This may be the horrid homage that the insecure and ambitious pay to those who breeze through life being happy and – even worse – paying their obsessive counterparts too little attention. "If I had done something to disparage him or to undermine or to deny his place in the world, I could imagine him writing a furious piece. But there isn't," Miller says plaintively. You couldn't even disparage the guy! God, Jonathan, what a bastard you are!

Miles Kingston is on holiday

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# Reading the runes of the French election

**BBC**



## obituaries / gazette

## Roland Amstutz

Post-Cannes depression? The young ex-convict actor Patrick Auriague, whose first film, *Mémoires d'un jeune con*, flopped after being selected for the 1996 Venice Film Festival, shot himself through the head at the age of 32. A few days later, a more mature actor, the Swiss Roland Amstutz, who worked regularly in France and Germany with some of the great directors, and who was about to open the Recklinghausen Theatre Festival in his fellow-countryman Luc Bondy's brilliant resuscitation of a late and little-known Strindberg black comedy, *Brända tornen* (*The Burnt House*, 1907), walked out of the final dress rehearsal and

threw himself under a goods train.

The production had enjoyed a big success last winter at Peter Brook's theatre Les Bouffes du Nord, a success largely due to Amstutz's performances — dry, sardonic, gruff — as the father of the leading actress Emmanuelle Béart, with Pascal Gregory in the other main role in the cast of six.

Like Auriague (who had done a seven-year stretch for armed robbery before being rehabilitated by theatre and film work), Amstutz was a man beset by personal anxieties, by inner anguish that gave his acting a fine nervous intensity. He used that repressed emotional

energy to create astounding characterisations for directors like Patrice Chéreau, Luc Bondy and Peter Zadek, and for the film-maker Jean-Luc Godard, notably in *Savez-vous le diable* (1980). He liked working with younger directors like Louis-Dot de Laing, for whom he played in *Syngé* and *Iris* Murdoch.

Roland Amstutz had received his training in Switzerland, and was closely associated with the Théâtre de Vidy in Lausanne. He moved to Paris and joined the troupe of Ariane Mnouchkine at the Théâtre du Soleil in Vincennes, attracting great praise for his performances in her productions of

1789 and the spectacular *Méphisto* (1979), based on a story by Klaus Mann.

After that, he set out on an independent course, in which he often suffered hardship and solitude, though he became attached to Patrice Chéreau's experiments at the Théâtre des Amandiers in Nanterre from 1981. He appeared as the Gravedigger in Chéreau's *Hamlet* (1982), in Jean-Hugues Anglade's *Great Britain* (1983) and in Chekhov's *Ivanov* in the same year.

His work ranged from Schmitzler's *Terre étrangère* to Tilly's *Charcuterie fine*, from Ibsen's *Peer Gynt* (Chéreau, 1981) to Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure* (Peter Zadek, 1991) in which he played Angelo to Isabelle Huppert's Isabelle. In all his parts Amstutz displayed his gift for virtuosos switches of mood and tone, from whip-lash laconic wit to brooding indecision. He spent two years at the Comédie-Française (1984-86).

He became one of Luc Bondy's favourite actors — perhaps it takes a Swiss to appreciate a Swiss at his proper value. Bondy produced him in Shakespeare's *A Winter's Tale* (1988) translated by Bernard-Marie Koltès and in Ibsen's *John Gabriel Borkmann* (1993). One of his more recent parts was in Hugo von Hofmann-

sthal's *L'Homme difficile* — a difficult actor for a difficult man — in Jacques Lassalle's 1996 production at the Théâtre de la Colline.

Before the opening in Paris of Strindberg's play (whose French title is *Tout avec le feu*) in December 1996, the director, Luc Bondy, gave an illuminating interview in which he talked about Strindberg and Amstutz and suggested they were similar human beings. He called the playwright a "tormented genius" whose aim in the theatre was to strip bare the nervous systems of the players and expose them to the public. This kind of exposure was the basis of his own direction of the

play, in which six characters tear each other apart in sudden changes of emotional temperature.

This strange, cruel drama is not without its dark humour, of an almost demonic kind. Bondy describes how one day when he was visiting Ibsen's house in Oslo (now a museum) he saw a portrait of Strindberg which Ibsen kept hung over his desk, facing him. He particularly appreciated the "demonic eyes" of the playwright, and said: "He is my mortal enemy and he's got to be hung there watching over me while I write." Luc Bondy went on to say that he would be thinking of those demonic eyes during rehearsals.

James Kirkup

Roland Amstutz, actor: born La Chaux-de-Fonds, Switzerland 1942; died Recklinghausen, Germany 20 May 1997.

## Edward Mulhare

Though born in Ireland, the actor Edward Mulhare specialised in portraying suave cultivated Englishmen of droll wit and sometimes dubious morals.

Having established himself in the late Fifties as a Broadway star when he succeeded Rex Harrison in *My Fair Lady*, he spent the last 40 years in the United States, where his prolific work on stage, screen and television made him a popular player and box-office attraction, particularly in touring productions. His early career included notable work in the theatres of Ireland and England, including West End appearances with Orson Welles and Gladys Cooper.

Mulhare was born in Cork in 1923. Educated at St Nessim's School and North Monastery, he spent a few months reading medicine at the National University of Ireland before deciding to follow his passion for theatre, and at 19 he made his professional debut at the Cork Opera House playing in successive weeks *Murdo* in *The First Mrs Fraser* and Cassio in *Othello*. Joining the newly formed Dublin Theatre Guild, who were recruiting talent from all over Ireland, he played Bill Walker in Shaw's *Major Barbara*, Horace Giddens in Hellman's *The Little Foxes* and La Hire in Shaw's *Saint Joan*.

He made his first appearance in England with an *Ensa* unit as Max De Winter in *Rebecca*. After sporadic employment with the Gate Theatre in Dublin and club theatres in London, in 1950 he was named leading man of the Liverpool Repertory Company, which had spawned Rex Harrison and Michael Redgrave. The following year he played Othello once more, this time as Lodovico to Orson Welles' Moor at the St James' Theatre, produced by Laurence Olivier. Though this production was famously panned by Kenneth Tynan, who described Welles as having "the courage of his restrictions", it was generally well received.

In 1952 Mulhare was part of the John Gielgud season at the Lyric Theatre, Hammersmith, and with Gielgud he subsequently went to the Rhodes Festival at Bulawayo, Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe), in *Richard II*. In 1953 he made his film debut in Thorold Dickinson's Israeli-made film *Hill 24 Doesn't Answer*. In this potent drama of the fight for modern Israel, he was top-billed as one of four soldiers defending a hill outside Jerusalem in the 1948 war. The same year he had a featured role as Sidney Willis MP in the West End production of *The Night of the Ball* with Gladys Cooper and Wendy Hiller.

A turning-point in his career came in 1957, when he was chosen to succeed Rex Harrison in the Broadway production of *My Fair Lady*. With his suave urbanity and clipped British accent, he proved a popular successor and played the role for three years, his Eliza including Julie Andrews, Sally Ann Howes and Anne Rogers. When Rex Harrison saw the show for the first time as a member of the audience, he found Mulhare "very good — I was enchanted with the whole performance".

In 1960 he went with the show to Russia then decided to settle in the US, where he found steady employment on stage, screen and television. On Broadway he starred in *The Devil's Advocate* (1961) and succeeded Michael Wilding in Jean Kerr's hit comedy *Mary, Mary* (1961). Later he starred in a Los Angeles production of *The Sound of Music*, and with Anne Rogers, who had become one of his closest friends, he toured the States in the musical *Camelot* and played *Death Trap* as well as revivals of *My Fair Lady*. In the early Seventies he toured 159 American cities in a production of Shaw's *Don Juan in Hell* with Myrna Loy, Ricardo Montalban and Kurt Kasznar. "Edward Mulhare made a superb Devil," said Loy



Irascible: Mulhare as the ghost of Captain Daniel Gregg in the 1968-69 television series *The Ghost and Mrs Muir*

later. "He possessed all the charm and wit for the part."

On screen he was one of the British prisoners-of-war, an army padre who impersonates a German officer during a daring escape in *Von Ryan's Express* (1964), and he was an effectively smooth villain in two spoofs of James Bond movies, the hit *Our Man Flint* (1966) starring James Coburn, and the dire *Caprice* (1967) in which he was a duplicitous cosmetics tycoon, involved in a covert drugs operation, who recruits Doris Day as an industrial spy.

His prolific television work started in England with two episodes of *The Adventures of Robin Hood* (1956). American series in which he appeared included *Murder She Wrote*, *Streets of San Francisco*, *Outer Limits*, *Hart to Hart*, *Battlestar Galactica*, and regular roles in two further series, both of which became hits.

When the 1941 film *The Ghost and Mrs Muir* was converted to a television series in 1968, Mulhare again followed in Harrison's footsteps as the ghost of an irascible sea captain

who shares a Cornish cottage with an attractive widow (Hope Lange, in Gene Tierney's original role). The show ran for two years and made Mulhare a household name.

He was to have an even bigger success in 1982 with *Knight Rider*, in which he was the dapper Devon Miles, mentor to an undercover policeman (David Hasselhoff), who has been killed but brought back to life and given a lavishly equipped car (which could leap 50 ft in the air — and talk) in which to defend the unfortunate and

fight injustice. With particular appeal to young audiences, it was the first show on the NBC network to hold its own against *Dallas* on CBS, and ran for five years and 90 episodes.

Mulhare continued to act until diagnosed with cancer a few months ago, and has a role in the forthcoming Jack Lemmon/Walter Matthau film *Out to Sea*.

Tom Vulliamy

Edward Mulhare, actor: born Cork, Ireland 8 April 1923; died Los Angeles 24 May 1997.

## Sir Robin Kinahan

Robin Kinahan was one of the last of the "auld decency", the county elite of Northern Ireland, to have occupied a prominent position in the Orange Order when, in the Seventies, such an association was no longer fashionable.

Like Sir George Clark, who was Imperial Grand Master of the World Orange Council, and whose family firm, Workman and Clark, once rivalled Harland and Wolff as a world builder of shipping tonnage, he belonged to an older tradition of robust British allegiance which reached its apogee in the massive popular opposition to Home Rule in the Ulster of 1912.

The family, originally from County Cork, set up a whiskey distillery in Dublin, where his great-grandfather, John Kinahan, died in 1853. Yet despite his deeply rooted Unionist and Orange background Kinahan deployed and discouraged any form of sectarian bigotry. In the family firm, Lyle and Kinahan, wine and spirit merchants, there was a large contingent of Roman Catholic workers and Kinahan was always delighted to relate how they turned out to cheer him as, on 12 July, he

walked with his lodge to the "field". Such tolerant scenes were common in the days before Sinn Féin dominated the parade issue.

After school at Stowe he went straight into the family firm with a Vintners' Company scholarship which took him to Oporto and Bordeaux, where he acquired fluent local French and a formidable knowledge of the wine trade. In Germany, when war broke out in 1939, he joined the Royal Artillery, the 8th Anti-Aircraft Regiment, serving briefly in France before the Dunkirk withdrawal, then in the air defence of Coventry and London before ending up in Burma under General Slim.

Kinahan's first entry into politics was as a councillor for Oldpark Belfast, where in 1948 he defeated the Labour activist Billy (later Lord) Bleasdale. He served in the Belfast Corporation for 10 years before becoming a Stormont MP for Clifton. His opponent was a hardline Protestant but with the help of both Jewish and Catholic electors he scraped home by 45 votes and five recounts. His career at Stormont lasted only a few months. He saw his chance of becoming

Lord Mayor, which in those days carried an automatic knighthood. So he resigned from Stormont and seized it, becoming Belfast's second youngest first citizen from 1959 to 1961. In 1963 he left the Corporation to devote himself to his growing business interests.

The achievements of which he was proudest during his term in Belfast office were the establishment of a crematorium against the united opposition of all the main churches; and the banning of pigs in the backyards of many of the working-class houses of the city.

When Lord Mayor he continued to strike the open-minded, cross-community note which in the States had brought about an attempt — unsuccessful — to have him expelled from the Orange Order when he attended a Catholic wedding and funeral. He received Cardinals in the City Hall and made a point of visiting fellow mayors in the Irish Republic.

From then on politics was largely abandoned for business, with extraordinary success. For he acquired a portfolio of directorships covering most of the major Ulster companies from Inglis (bakers) and Gallahers,



Kinahan: open-minded

E.T. Green (millers) to Abbey Life, the Eagle Star and Nat West. Standard Telephones and chairmanships of the Ulster Bank were added to his bag and in 1961 the family firm Lyle and Kinahan was taken over by Bass Charrington and the Kinahans acquired Castle Upton with 300 acres not far from Belfast airport. The castle, redesigned by Robert Adam, had its origins in a 13th-century monastery. When Robin Kinahan bought it for £53,000 it was in a ruinous state for piggery.

His wife Coralie, whom he

married in 1950, was a de Burgh, one of the oldest Anglo-Irish families and an established painter of distinction. Under her expert artistic guidance they set about restoring the castle to its proper state and character, a residence to match their eminence in the commercial and social world.

Kinahan's last excursion into politics was in 1972 when he agreed to join Willie Whitelaw's Advisory Commission which was meant to give some veneer of accountability to Direct Rule, and had been rejected by Unionists. He did so with expressed misgivings which turned out to be justified — the whole concept collapsed.

In personal terms Robin Kinahan was a man of great charm and a warm engaging manner, who inspired lasting loyalty in those he worked with. An old-established Ulster Banker recalls the day, 30 years ago, when, as a diffident junior, he was summoned to the chairman's office to discuss some new aspect of business. To his surprise and grateful delight Kinahan proposed that they settle the matter over lunch at the then exclusive Ulster Club.

With his multifarious com-

pany commitments Kinahan was an efficient chairman. Business was quickly dispatched. Everyone had to have done his homework. He loved commerce and once said: "It's not just the money. I can't altogether dismiss ambition. There is a special satisfaction in getting to the top."

He achieved that ambition and combined it with a large involvement in charity work when his appointment as Lord-Lieutenant of Belfast during 1985-91 set the final crown on his civic career.

His wife and he published a joint autobiography with the cheeky rhetorical title *Behind Every Great Man...*

Roy Bradford

Robert George Caldwell (Robin) Kinahan, businessman and politician: born 24 September 1916; ERD 1946; MP (NI) for Clifton 1958-59; Lord Mayor of Belfast 1959-61; K 1961; chairman, *Inglis & Co Ltd* 1962-82; chairman, *E.T. Green Ltd* 1964-82; chairman, *Ulster Bank Ltd* 1970-82; Vice Lord-Lieutenant for Belfast 1976-85; Lord-Lieutenant 1985-91; married 1950 Coralie de Burgh (two sons, three daughters); died 2 May 1997.

## Births, Marriages &amp; Deaths

## DEATHS

SIMPSON: Halls, on 21 May, at Common Hill, Belfast, wife of Geoffrey. Funeral at Cross Street Church, Keshwick on Tuesday 2 June at 2.30pm. No flowers please. Donations in lieu to Cumbrá Red Cross. Woolcock Yard, Keshwick, would be appreciated.

## Birthdays

Dr Eric Anderson, Rector, Lincoln College, Oxford, 61; The Right Rev Simon Barrington-Ward, Bishop of Coventry, 67; Professor John Barth, author, 67; Admiral of the Fleet Sir Benjamin Bathurst, former First Sea Lord and Chief of Naval Staff, 61; Mr Jeffrey Bernard, journalist, 65; Miss Cilla Black, singer, 55; The Right Rev Hugh Bodd, Roman Catholic Bishop of Plymouth, 60; Earl Cairns, chairman, BAT Industries, 58; Mr Pat Cash, tennis player, 32; Field Marshal Sir John Chapple, former Governor of Gibraltar, 66; Sir Anthony Colman, High Court judge, 59; Mr John Conche, boxer, 40; Mr Bryan Cowgill, former deputy chairman, Mirror Group, 70; Lord Erroll of Hale, former government minister, 83; Mr Paul Goodwin, footballer, 39; Mr Duncan Goodhew, swimmer, 40; Mr Norman Griggs, former vice-

president, Building Societies Association, 81; Lord Home of Cheltenham, former President, Liberal Party, 61; Dr Henry Kissinger, statesman, 74; Mr Christopher Lee, actor, 75; Sir John Moberg, diplomat, 72; Miss Theo Musgrave, composer, 69; Mr Patrick O'Ferrall, chairman, Lloyd's Register of Shipping, 63; Mr Gerald Ronson, chief executive, Heron Corporation, 58; Miss Florence Sharples, former executive director, YVCA, 66; Mr Ravi Shastri, cricketer, 35; Mr Sam Smedley, golfer, 85; Sir Ross Stinton, former chairman, British Airways, 83; Mr Michael Webster, former chairman, DRG, 77; Mr Don Williams, singer, 54; Mr Herman Wouk, novelist, 82.

## Anniversaries

Births: Ibn Khaldun, historian, 1325; Maximilian I King of Bavaria, 1756; Sir Francis Beaufort, admiral and hy-

drographer, 1774; Sir Henry Parkes, statesman, 1815; Amelia Jenks Bloomer, women's rights campaigner, 1818; Julia Ward Howe, poet and social reformer, 1819; Joseph Joachim Raff, composer, 1822; Jay Gould, railway builder, 1836; James Butler "Wild Bill" Hickok, frontier scout, 1837; Enoch Arnold Bennett, novelist, 1867; Georges-Henri Rouault, painter, 1871; Isadora Duncan, dancer, 1878; Samuel Dashiell Hammett, detective-story writer, 1894; Sir John Douglas Cockcroft, physicist, 1897; Robert Horatio Humphrey, US Vice-President, 1911; Vincent Leonard Price, actor and writer, 1911; Deaths: Thomas Munster, Anabaptist campaigner, executed, 1525; John Calvin, theologian, 1564; Archibald Campbell, Marquess of Argyll, soldier, beheaded 1661; Niccolò Paganini, violinist, 1840; Joseph Bosworth, lexicographer, 1876; Robert Koch, bacteri-

ologist, 1910; Sir Joseph Wilson Swan, physicist and chemist, 1914; Henry Adams, historian, 1918; Joseph Roth, author, 1939; Field Marshal Sir Thomas Blamey, soldier, 1951; Jawaharlal Nehru, statesman, 1964. On this day: the Habeas Corpus Act was passed, 1679; St Petersburg was founded by Peter the Great, 1703; the trial of William Palmer, doctor and poisoner, ended with a verdict of guilty, 1856; at the naval battle of Tsushima Straits, the Russian fleet of 32 vessels was annihilated by the Japanese under Togo, 1905; the Battle of Aisne started, 1918; the first transatlantic air flight, with a five-man crew, arrived at Lisbon, 1919; the Cunard liner *Queen Mary* sailed on her maiden voyage from Southampton to New York, 1936; the Golden Gate Bridge, San Francisco, opened, 1937; the German battleship *Bismarck* was sunk, 1941; the physicist Auguste Piccard was the first man to ascend into

the stratosphere, reaching a height of 51,000 feet in a balloon, 1931; the European Defence Community was set up, 1952. Today is the Feast Day of St Augustus of Canterbury, St Eulogius of Orange, St Julius of Durostorum, St Melangar or Monacella and St Resiuta of Sora.

## Lectures

National Gallery: Lizzy Barker, "May Marriages (4): Rembrandt's Women", 1pm. Victoria and Albert Museum: Sarah Seagriff, "Garden of Paradise: Floral Themes in Iranian Art II", 2.30pm. Tate Gallery: Sarah Cowe, "Materials and Techniques of Tudor and Jacobean Portraiture", 1pm. British Museum: Paul Craddock, "The Origins of West African Bronzes: the Igbo Ukwu hoards and the case for their local origins", 1.15pm.

RIBA, 66 Portland Place, London W1: Alan Davidson talks about Hayes Davidson's digital architectural illustration, 6.30pm.

Exeter University: Professor Mark Ferguson, "The Biosciences Revolution — Funding the Research and Exploiting the Results: foresight and other initiatives", 5.30pm.

## Appointments

Mr Roger Thomas, to be Ambassador to the Azerbaijan Republic. Mr David Hubert Boothby Cheshyrie, to be Clarenceux King of Arms. Mr Thomas Woodcock, to be Norroy and Ulster King of Arms. Mr Mango Campbell, to be Deputy Director of the Hunterian Art Gallery, Glasgow. Mrs Justice Hale, to be Family Division Liaison Judge for London.

## ROYAL ENGAGEMENTS

The Queen Mother attends a Reception given by the Victoria Cross and George Cross Association in St James's Palace. The Prince of Wales opens the Princess Royal, Patron, the National Autistic Society, opens Struan House School's cottage, Allon, Caernarfonshire. The Princess Royal, Patron, the National Autistic Society, opens Struan House School's cottage, Allon, Caernarfonshire. The Princess Royal, Patron, the National Autistic Society, opens Struan House School's cottage, Allon, Caernarfonshire. The Princess Royal, Patron, the National Autistic Society, opens Struan House School's cottage, Allon, Caernarfonshire.

The LAW REPORT resumes with the Law Term, on Tuesday 3 June.



## Gap between rich and less well-off reaches 'alarming proportions'

The sad performance of many small companies in the rampant bull market is baffling.

While Footsie has soared to new heights, the rest of the investment pack has limped. At stockbroker Panmure Gordon, the gap between the big and small has "reached alarming proportions".

It is, however, not just the tiddlers which have been confined to the stock market doghouse. The medium-sized groups making up the FTSE 250 index have had a desperately unexciting time, particularly in the past year.

Mr Orr has compiled his own "misery" table comparing the rich and the less well-off. The gap has never yawned so wide. He calculates the present bull market started in March two years ago. Since then shares of smaller companies recorded a 39 per cent gain against 57 per cent for blue chips.

The underperformance is a bit of a mystery. Historically, says Mr Orr, it is in bull markets when smaller companies outperform and then by a large extent. They need to turn in rip-roaring displays to balance the miserable times they experience in bear markets.

Unless the tiddlers start to turn in Herculean displays the second quarter of this year will be the worst three months they have experienced in the past 11 years.

The strength of banks, which has clearly inflated Footsie, is one reason put forward for the uneven displays. But Mr Orr suggests this is merely bending data to make a case. He says: "The smaller company sector has a thriving financial sector... and it is in the nature of underperformance that some sub-sectors will be doing better than others at any one point in time. It is rare to see persistent across-the-board outperformance."

Given the economic environment smallcap shares should have beaten their blue chip rivals. Certainly the gap between big and small should narrow. However a revival by the little 'uns looks unlikely. Footsie could suffer a sharp correction, a swing which would be welcomed by cash-in-the-bank Tony Dye at the underperforming PDM fund management group and the persistent prophets of doom like David Schwartz.

Yet most observers think Footsie is set to continue on its merry way, with year-end predictions of 5,000 points being sprayed around.

But long-term Footsie bulls, Bob Semple and David McBain at NatWest Securities, have introduced a note of caution into their calculations.

Early this year they produced a year-end target of 4,600, well ahead of most other strategists. Now, with the index above 4,600, and on



Share spotlight  
share price, pence



## STOCK MARKET WEEK

## DEREK PAIN

Stock market reporter  
of the year

occasions even through the 4,700 barrier, they are advocating the market should pause for breath. Valuations look a little stretched.

The long-term bull market case remains intact but the Government offers a threat. Say the NatWest duo: "Any changes in the treatment of the dividend tax credit would not only alter the current yield on the market but probably also reduce future dividend growth. New Labour may be gift friendly but it is by no means clear at this stage they will remain equity friendly."

If, in the looming Budget, the Chancellor, Gordon Brown, does heap more taxes on companies or discriminates against dividends then there must be a distinct possibility the NatWest bulls will surrender some of their enthusiasm. There are unlikely to be any

uncomfortable ripples on the profit from this week although the water dividend season gets under way.

Five water companies report year's results with Anglia getting the tide flowing tomorrow with profits likely to emerge at around £250m (£238m).

On Thursday South West with £122m expected compared with £110m and United Utilities with £475m (£389m) made in. The still-to-be-redeemed Yorkshire Water, which failed lamentably last year, should produce £211m (£207.6m) on Friday.

Mid Kent, which fought so furiously and ultimately successfully against a double French takeover assault, reports on Thursday. Profits will be down, reflecting the cost of the bid battle. Around £11m against £12.7m seems likely.

EMI, the showbiz group which failed to attract the bid so many predicted once it split from its rental side, has the

chance to show its year's profit routine today.

Up to £400m is possible against £367.5m last time. The music business has not been easy and EMI is one of the casualties of sterling's strength. But the final quarter is thought to have been encouraging and could offer the optimists some consolation for the failure of that long-awaited takeover to appear.

EMI's spurned other half, the Thorn rental group, reports tomorrow. Its presence was regarded as EMI's poison pill. Hence last summer's demerger being seen as leaving EMI as a pure showbiz group wide open to a bid.

Thorn shareholders must wonder if they would have been better off if the old group had stuck together.

As a stand-alone company Thorn has been a disappointment with its shares crashing from 39p at the time of the demerger to 15.5p last week. US

litigation and a warning profit would be little changed have done the damage. Last year's figure was £170.7m; a dip to £170m with a modest dividend increase to 13.2p is the likely outcome.

Alliers, the department store chain which has expanded through the acquisition of Owen Owen stores, should produce £15.5m against £8.2m and Stalks, the casino and hotel group which once seemed destined for the corporate cemetery, is likely to nearly double profits to £23.6m.

It, too, has expanded, buying from Lorothe the Metropole Hotels chain. Both report interim results.

An acquisitive creation with a profit offering on Thursday is engineer Siebe. Its latest major takeover, APV, has still to be cemented. Profits up around 30 per cent to £420m will again look impressive. But the quality of the APV deal may prompt a few worries.

## Share Price Data

Prices are in sterling except where stated. The yield is last year's dividend, grossed up by 20 per cent, as a percentage of the share price. The price/earnings (P/E) ratio is the share price divided by last year's earnings per share, excluding exceptional items.

Other details: r Ex rights x Ex-dividend x Ex all x United Securities Market's Suspended x PP Parity Paid pm x Field Shares x All Stock

Source: FT Information

## The Independent Index

The index allows you to access real-time share prices by phone from London Stock Exchange. Simply dial 0801 123 335, and when prompted to do so enter the 4-digit code printed next to each share. To access the latest financial reports dial 0801 1233 followed by one of the two-digit codes below.

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Foreign Exchange 03 Tokyo Market 07 High Street Banks 41

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## Interest Rates

UK	Germany	US	Japan
Discount	Discount	Discount	Discount
2.5%	2.5%	4.75%	0.50%
Prime	Prime	Prime	Prime
5.5%	5.5%	5.5%	5.5%
Intervention	Intervention	Intervention	Intervention
2.5%	2.5%	2.5%	2.5%
Italy	Italy	Italy	Italy
Discount	Discount	Discount	Discount
7.5%	7.5%	7.5%	7.5%
Netherlands	Netherlands	Netherlands	Netherlands
Discount	Discount	Discount	Discount
2.75%	2.75%	2.75%	2.75%

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# Monty at sixes and sevens after his 64

SECRET

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JOHN PHILPOTT

'Ministers must quickly demonstrate why and how their plans will prove more effective at getting young people and the long-term unemployed into jobs, and thus reduce the benefit bill, than those of their Conservative predecessors'

## Will Labour's Welfare to Work really work?

"Of course the Labour Government will create lots of jobs," a wag remarked the other day. "Judging by the number of taskforces, committees and commissions being established by Mr Blair and Co to advise on different aspects of policy the market for the Great and the Good must be overheating already." Cynicism indeed. Yet the observation conceals a more serious question. Will New Labour's policy activism really make a difference to the plight of Britain's jobless?

There is no doubting the Government's commitment to tackling unemployment as evidenced by the sheer scale of its proposed New Deal which will absorb £3bn of extra public spending financed from the windfall levy. The guarantee of a job or training opportunity to under 25s who have been unemployed and on benefit for more than six months plus all others unemployed for more than two years when operational extend to some 400,000 people. The mood in Whitehall as ministers and officials prepare their Welfare to Work Budget offers a refreshing change from the stale reticence of recent years. But commitment is not enough. The phrase that hangs over so many of the fledgling administration's policy proposals at present is "the devil is in the detail". Opposition by soundbite was effective: Government requires something more solid. In particular, ministers must quickly demonstrate why and how their plans will prove more effective at getting young people and the long-term unemployed into jobs, and thus reduce the benefit bill, than those of their Conservative predecessors.

On the face of things the Government's menu of measures – temporary tax rebates to employers who hire and train the young and long-term jobless, short-term environmental and community jobs etc – looks like the standard fare of active labour market poli-

cies the world over – highly worthwhile but not always and everywhere successful in cutting the dole queues. So how successful is the Government likely to be in turning its rhetoric on jobs into reality? The Government seems set to score well on two counts.

First, macroeconomic conditions are favourable to the Welfare to Work strategy, with continuing recovery in the labour market reducing the number of benefit claimants. All too often major jobs programmes are introduced as an emergency measure in times of recession and then fall flat because demand for labour is weak. The recent experience of several continental EU countries, not least France where supply side measures have struggled in the face of inappropriate macroeconomic policy, is telling in this respect. Second, the Government is right to opt for guaranteed provision for all jobless people in the targeted groups. This kind of approach seems to result in more unemployed people coming off benefit of their own volition rather than waiting for the job guarantee to come into effect (perhaps, as in the Government's proposals for the under 25s,

because the guarantee effectively replaces the right to benefit).

Matters become less certain when one turns to the specific elements of the Welfare to Work plan. The tax rebate proposal will take centre stage because it is thought to be more cost effective. Unlike measures that create environmental or community jobs the Chequer merely has to fund a payment to employers – £60 per week for six months for the young jobless, £75 for the two-year plus unemployed – rather than the full cost of supporting a person in work. Moreover, training-related job placements with employers at normal rates of pay offer jobless people better work experience and improve their chances of moving off welfare long-term.

In practice the rebate might support jobs that would exist without it (the so-called "deadweight" effect) or displace other jobs, thereby reducing the impact of the rebate and increasing the net cost. Of these deadweight is likely to prove the most problematic – international experience suggests deadweight typically accounts for around half of jobs supported in this way. Displacement

is of less economic significance. Assuming that displaced workers are inherently employable their entry to the unemployment pool should cause the labour market to adjust to re-absorb them into jobs.

The design and precise operation of the rebate will be crucial to reducing these unsavoury side effects. However, attaching strings to the rebate will almost certainly reduce take-up, an outcome that will be exacerbated if employers also find that the long-term jobless are not well prepared to hold down jobs. Similarly, as Dan Finn points out in a recent study of Australian jobs programmes published by the Unemployment Unit, in relation to the very long-term jobless tax rebates should be the last stage in a sequence of support designed to prepare individuals to cope with a return to work.

Taking these factors into account the Government could find it has to rely more than it anticipates on temporary environmental or community work schemes in order to meet its Welfare to Work guarantee. In this respect the Government's most significant jobs proposal could turn out to be Neighbourhood Match, a vehicle for testing so-called Intermediate Labour Market (ILM) models of employment and training delivery.

ILM initiatives, normally run by highly entrepreneurial not-for-profit organisations, link temporary jobs and training to community regeneration or the provision of services to deprived local communities. ILMs are intermediate first in the sense that they build a bridge between long-term unemployment and work and second in that they fill gaps in service provision not well met by private or public sector enterprises. ILMs normally create job opportunities, paid at the rate for the job, by combining benefit income with other resources such as local authority grants. The various projects run by the Glasgow-based Wise Group are perhaps the

best-known examples of ILM initiatives, the evaluated success rates of which look good in comparison with other publicly funded job and training schemes (see table and note that the Wise Group's job entry rate has risen above 50 per cent since these figures were compiled). The Wise Group results are superior to those of Training for Work in Glasgow although similar to Training for Work in England and Wales. But the latter recruits a much lower proportion of people who have been unemployed for more than a year.

So far so good. But Treasury officials cast a wary eye at the Wise Group – at around £14,000 per job per year the group's operation looks very expensive by the standards of conventional government-funded programmes.

This crude perspective, however, is short-sighted. When one accounts for the savings that accrue from the Wise Group's superior performance in helping its participants enter jobs, the group appears to offer a good value, if not necessarily free, lunch to the taxpayer. And when one accounts for the valuable social outputs and reduced social costs that flow from the Wise Group's activities the rate of return to the ILM looks more attractive still.

The Government has much to learn as it moves along the Welfare to Work learning curve. The key to success lies in recognising the limits of jobs programmes as well as their potential. Implemented with care and sufficient resources the Government's programmes could work wonders for the jobless. But don't expect them to work miracles.

Dan Finn, *Working Nation: Welfare Reform and the Australian Job Compact for the Long-Term Unemployed*, Unemployment Unit.

John Philpott is director of the Employment Policy Institute, an independent think-tank.

	Wise Group	Training for Work
Unemployed for more than 1 year	51	46
Unemployed for more than 2 years	47	25
Unemployed for more than 3 years	43	42

Source: Wise Group and Training for Work (1997) "Bridging the Jobs Gap: An Evaluation of the Wise Group and the Training for Work Initiative". Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

## Adtranz wins £150m order from Connex Industry backs PFI plan

Randeep Ramesh  
Transport Correspondent

Adtranz, the Derby-based train manufacturer, has been chosen as the preferred bidder to supply 30 new trains to a private commuter train service in a deal which industry experts suggest is worth £150m. The order is for 30 four-car trains for Connex South Eastern, the French-owned company which runs commuter services from London to Kent.

The deal is another fillip for the trainmaker, which last week finalised a £38m order for 13 units from Midland Mainline, a division of National Express. According to industry sources Adtranz beat off stiff competition from GEC Alsthom Metro-Cammell but clinched the deal with lower maintenance costs.

The package comes with a tight timetable. Connex was awarded a 15-year franchise on the condition that the company ordered new rolling stock.

This order will mean that 16 trains will have to be in service by April 1999, which leaves little time for the carriages to pass Railtrack's stringent safety tests.

Although the privatised rail industry has been quick to trumpet new orders, it has been quiet about the lack of completed deals.

Despite a rash of announcements by owners, the deals have produced only 47 new units. Of these, 30 units were the price extracted by competition

authorities from Stagecoach in order to purchase Porterbrook, one of the three train leasing companies.

Separately, Eurotunnel has come under attack from the rail industry for "seriously hampering" the growth of container traffic under the Channel with its "excessive charges".

Lord Berkeley, the Labour peer who chairs the Rail Freight Group, complained in a letter to John Prescott, the Deputy Prime Minister, that rather

than using the railway freight link "it would be cheaper to unload a freight train from Glasgow at Ashford, put the containers on a lorry... and take them across to Calais and load them back onto a train".

The industry body called for the Government to refuse the extension of Eurotunnel's 65-year franchise, which the company is desperate to clinch in order to ease its new £2bn debt package, until Eurotunnel reduced its charges.

Chris Godsmark  
Business Correspondent

The Confederation of British Industry has strongly backed the Government's plans to review and reform the much-criticised private finance initiative, a move which brings the policy agenda at the employers' organisation even closer to Labour.

In its response to the Government's 12-point plan to shake up the PFI, the CBI backed calls for the abolition of

universal testing for state projects to assess their compatibility with the initiative, a Conservative policy widely blamed for delays to high-profile investment projects.

The CBI also supported suggestions that it would have a formal consultative role with the Treasury through joint working parties, a development it said would help to build consensus with the private sector.

Charles Cox, chairman of the CBI's public procurement

and efficiency committee, said better project selection was now the top priority, along with clearer legal guidelines on the relationship between the public and private sectors.

Mr Cox said the biggest challenge was in the National Health Service, where many hospital building projects had become bogged down with unnecessary bureaucracy. He feared the same would happen with education and local government investments.

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Barcelona's greatest monument, Gaudi's Sagrada Família

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Barcelona is an easy city to explore with many of the major sights within walking distance of each other. Wandering around and soaking up the street life, between regular stopovers in bars and cafes is an enjoyable way of getting to know the city and is the best way to absorb quintessential Barcelona.

At night, Barcelona erupts with an array of nightlife. Waterfront cafes stay open until 5am, and a host of designer bars and clubs all combine to provide an exotic night life experience.

The city's Olympic revamp of 1992 has

opened up the city to the sea front and created an impressive and stylish setting which provides a host of choices for the first-time visitor to indulge in some al fresco dining.

In stark contrast to Barcelona's modern Olympic facilities is the city's greatest monument, Antonio Gaudi's Sagrada Família. Begun over a century ago and yet to be completed, the Cathedral still reaches its crescendo above the city.

Artistically, Barcelona has many options. Gaudi, Picasso, Dali and Miro all have strong links with the city. The Museu Picasso, housed within a Medieval Gothic palace, is a testimony to the years Picasso spent in the city amongst Catalonia's avant garde.

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Postcode		
Day Tel	Eve Tel	
Name of passenger		
Date of departure from Luton Airport		
Date of return from Barcelona Airport		
Name of hotel		
How many nights do you wish to stay?		
Preferred flight time (out)		
Preferred flight time (return)		
Credit card no. <input type="text"/>		
Expiry date <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> Signature <input type="text"/>		
Declaration I am over 18 years of age and declare that all the information on this form is correct to my knowledge, but may be subject to change where there is no availability on my chosen booking.		
Signature <input type="text"/> Date <input type="text"/>		















**Cashing in his chips**  
Victory for Ian Woosnam at  
Wentworth, page 22

**sport**

**Plain English**  
The Hollioake brothers are  
Australia's loss, page 24

# Regan and Williams stir Lions blood with fracas

## Rugby Union

CHRIS HEWITT  
reports from East London



Who said the ninety-nine call was dead and buried? The principle behind Willie John McBride's famous "one in, all in" strategy circa 1974 was that the Lions should vent their collective spleen on their South African opponents, but on the evidence of yesterday's savage training session here, the 1997 vintage are just as happy to knock seven bells out of each other.

After an unexpectedly conciliatory opening match in Port Elizabeth at the weekend, the Lions forwards decided to ginger it up themselves as they prepared for tomorrow afternoon's fixture with Border. The instigators of the rough stuff were the rival hookers, Mark Regan of England and Barry Williams of Wales, neither of whom appeared much interested in reasoned argument as push came to shove in a live scrummaging session. After two flare-ups and one collapsed scrum that might easily have resulted in half a dozen

broken necks, Rob Wainwright, tomorrow's captain in the continued absence of Martin Johnson, called a halt to the shenanigans with a few well-chosen words.

Both protagonists dismissed the incident — "It happens in club training most weeks, so there's nothing to get in a sweat about," Regan said — while Fran Cotton, the tour manager, praised Wainwright for his sensible approach. "When you get a scrummaging session as ferocious as that, tensions run high," he said. "There is a lot of personal pride amongst the players and you get the occasional incident, but Rob dealt with it as every good captain should and as long as it all stays on the training field, fine."

Cotton should know. As an England and Lions prop of considerable repute and no little notoriety, he indulged in the odd bout of training session fistfights, notably with Phil Blakey on the Lions tour of Springbokland 17 years ago. "At least it shows they care," he smiled as Wainwright set about soothing the troubled waters.

According to the hierarchy, the decision to keep Johnson's powder dry for the second successive match was no more significant than the Regan-



Fellow Lions try to separate Mark Regan and Barry Williams yesterday

Photograph: Allsport

Williams sparring match. "He'd rather play because he's that sort of bloke, but it was always agreed between ourselves that he would start his tour against Western Province in Cape Town on Saturday," Cotton insisted. "Martin played big games for Leicester until the very last weekend

of the season, so we wanted to give him three weeks' rest and use him in the big games. He'll lead the side at Newlands, as planned."

There are, however, lingering concerns over the precise state of the captain's fitness. He is struggling with a groin condition that requires

surgery sooner rather than later — he will almost certainly go under the knife on his return to England in July — and it is possible that he will make only six appearances in South Africa.

Doddie Weir, who performed so impressively against Kobus Wiese at the front of the line-out on Saturday,

is the only player asked to turn out for a second full stint tomorrow, although Tony Underwood, the Newcastle wing, and Jeremy Davidson, the Irish lock, also face Border after brief spells as substitutes against Eastern Province. Once again, the selectors have based their line-up on well-established partnerships. Tim Simpson, John Bentley and Underwood resume the back three axis familiar to Geordie supporters, Scott Gibbs and Allan Bateman renew the centre partnership that worked so smoothly for Wales during the Five Nations while Eric Miller and Neil Back bring a strong Leicester flavour to the loose forward unit, and Miller will also have a club-mate, Austin Healey, in situ at the base of the scrum.

Injury hassles remain at a minimum, although Tom Smith, the Scottish prop, sat out yesterday's session with a neck strain, and Tim Rodber made an early exit to have five stitches inserted in his right eyelid.

"You can't imagine how reassuring it is to have a full complement of players fit and available in the second week of a hard tour," said Cotton, well aware that on three of the last four Lions' trips, the Emergency Ward Ten routine was in overdrive

by half-time in the opening match. Border, who have struggled so far this season, will be spearheaded by their high-class full-back, Russell Bennett, a sharp counter-attacker who played for the Springboks in Argentina and France in 1996. They have a useful performer at scrum-half too, in the shape of John Bradbrook, a former New Zealand Maori captain and All Black trialist.

"Unlike Eastern Province, who were an under-rehearsed side with a lot of unfamiliar faces, Border will be a very cohesive unit," said Cotton. "We'll have to play well to win because they are certain to raise their game. It's the biggest match of the season for them." For Regan, who plays tomorrow, and Williams, who sits on the bench once more, it is also a big day; the chance to get physical with someone they are in no danger of having to share a room with.

**BRITISH RUGBY:** 1. Simpson (Newcastle and England), 2. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 3. Gibbs (Sheephead and Wales), 4. Davidson (Newcastle and England), 5. Healey (Leicester and England), 6. Healey (Leicester and England), 7. Simpson (Newcastle and England), 8. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 9. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 10. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 11. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 12. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 13. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 14. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 15. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 16. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 17. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 18. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 19. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 20. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 21. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 22. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 23. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 24. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 25. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 26. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 27. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 28. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 29. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 30. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 31. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 32. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 33. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 34. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 35. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 36. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 37. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 38. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 39. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 40. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 41. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 42. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 43. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 44. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 45. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 46. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 47. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 48. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 49. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 50. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 51. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 52. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 53. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 54. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 55. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 56. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 57. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 58. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 59. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 60. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 61. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 62. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 63. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 64. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 65. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 66. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 67. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 68. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 69. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 70. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 71. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 72. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 73. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 74. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 75. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 76. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 77. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 78. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 79. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 80. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 81. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 82. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 83. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 84. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 85. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 86. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 87. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 88. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 89. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 90. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 91. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 92. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 93. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 94. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 95. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 96. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 97. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 98. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 99. Bentley (Newcastle and England), 100. Bentley (Newcastle and England).

# Hopkin's late hit has Palace glad all over

## Football

MIKE ROWBOTTOM  
reports from Wembley  
Crystal Palace  
Sheffield United

however, he was content to enjoy the moment, although he spared a thought for the 1997 losers.

"I know how Sheffield United feel," he said. "It's just like us this time last year."

Hopkin's inspired strike from the edge of the box, after Carl Tiler had headed out a short corner crossed by Simon Rodger, decided a game that was — frankly — laboured.

Sheffield, deprived of the services of their most sparky performer, Don Hutchison — who dislocated his right shoulder in a fall a minute before half-time — failed to trouble the Palace keeper throughout. Perhaps they should have called upon their famous supporter in the stand, Sean Bean. After all, he did manage to score for them in the film *When Saturday Comes*.

The Londoners created what chances there were, but the first of them did not arrive until the 53rd minute, when Kevin Muscat's cross cleared David Holdsworth and gave Bruce Dyer a clear shooting opportunity which he missed.

Dyer nearly made amends with an overhead kick in the 82nd minute, but as the ball landed in the side-netting it seemed Palace might have nothing to show for their efforts once again — until Hopkin transformed the occasion.

The result was a triumph for Palace's caretaker-manager,

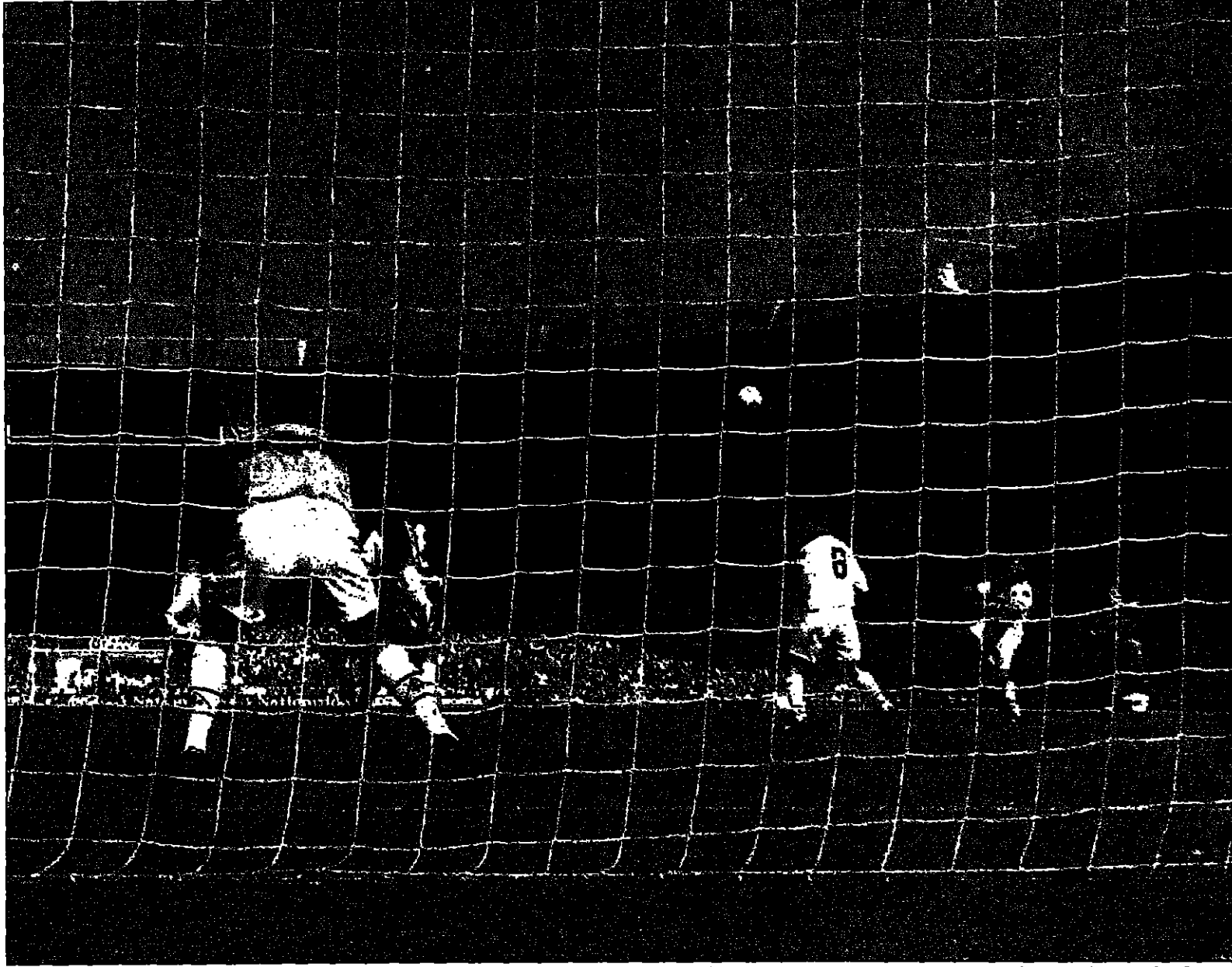
Steve Coppell, who took charge of the team for the second time in his career when Dave Bassett departed for Nottingham Forest at the end of February.

Coppell was not with Palace for last season's disappointment, but he knows the scene, having been in charge for the 1990 FA Cup final defeat by Manchester United.

"When the ball came out to David, someone behind my shoulder said: 'Oh, no!'" Coppell said. "I don't know what it meant, not to shoot it, or not to cross it. The ball almost travelled like slow motion, the way it curled into the net. It was fabulous."

"I looked at the Sheffield players coming off the pitch just now. Their world had caved in for the time being. That was what we had to suffer last season, and it was even crueler because it was after extra time. This week everyone was aware that they didn't want to go through that painful process again."

Thus Palace, who won the last of the two-legged play-off finals to reach the top flight eight years ago, were back in the division which they left two years ago. Like Blackburn, and then Leicester, they had followed defeat at this stage with victory. Coppell recalled the same kind of thing happening to him as a member of



David Hopkin (far right) shoots Crystal Palace into the Premiership with his last-minute winner yesterday

Photograph: Darren Walsh/Action Images

the Manchester United team which lost the 1976 FA Cup final to Southampton and returned to beat Liverpool the following year.

"I don't know what it is," he said. "It gives you that steel and determination. You want to go back and restore the damage."

Now we want to model ourselves on Leicester and what they have achieved in the last year."

United's manager, Howard Kendall, meanwhile, is taking Crystal Palace as his side's model. "We have to do what they have done," he said. For Palace, then, the wheel has turned full

circle — from victims to victim support in the space of a year. Crystal Palace (3-5-2): Muscat, Underwood, Tiler, Merson, Hopkin, Rodger, Gordon, Dyer, Shotton, Substitutes not used: Houghton, McGee, West, Sheffield United (4-4-2): Tracey, Hanson, Tier, Nisbet, White, Hutchinson (Sandford, 44), Spinkman, Ward, Whitehouse, Richmond (10), 25, Pennell. Substitutes not used: Walker. Referee: N Barry (Southampton).

# Board blocks Evans' move for Sheringham

ALAN NIXON

Roy Evans hopes to sign Teddy Sheringham to team up with Robbie Fowler in Liverpool's attack next season, but he is having difficulty selling the idea to the Anfield board.

The Liverpool manager has told the board of his desire to spend a large chunk, probably £4m, of the £7m raised by the sale of Stan Collymore on bringing the England forward to the club but, although he is sure Sheringham would be keen on the move, the Anfield board considers that, at 31, he is too old. What, wonders, would be his resale value?

Liverpool would prefer Evans to find younger players and he could yet try to intercept Danny Murphy's move from Crewe to Newcastle. There is also interest in the Monaco midfielder Ali Benarbia, while Leicester's Emile Heskey may be a younger alternative to Sheringham.

Southampton have assured any potential managerial candidates after the departure of Graeme Souness, who resigned on Saturday along with the club's director of football, Lawrie McMenemy, that cash is available to strengthen the side for next season. Souness had asked for £7m to finance

summer spendings, but he had his request rejected.

Some fans were angered by the club allowing Souness to walk out after steering the club clear of relegation, but the board issued a statement yesterday saying that it was safeguarding the club's financial future while still providing funds for the next manager.

The club also said current players deserved credit for their ability and commitment. "We're sure we can attract similar team players to this club in the future and we will use our chequebook to do it where we can," the board said in its statement. "At this stage it's as much about bottle as it is about millions."

The statement added: "A further priority is to explain the situation to our fans. No one here is pretending that we have the commercial resources of a Manchester United or the millionaire benefactors of Middlesbrough or Blackburn Rovers. The board's role is to improve our resources. We can't spend what we don't have, and we won't be serving anyone if the club's financial position deteriorates to the point of insolvency, as we have seen elsewhere."

The board said it was vitally important that the club moved to a new stadium. A move, it said, would "dramatically

change our financial position. Meanwhile, we do have funds to spend on the team. The supporters should know that and so should the incoming manager."

The board also expressed concern over "damaging things" that had been said. "We must move quickly to repair that damage over the summer," the board said. "The club deserves no less and the board believes it can deliver what the fans want most: a united and motivated group of individuals capable of footballing and financial success."

Manchester City's lucrative new deal for their Georgian international midfielder, Georgi Kinkladze, is already paying off. City have been taking more than £20,000 a day in new season ticket sales since Kinkladze signed a new three-year deal nine days ago.

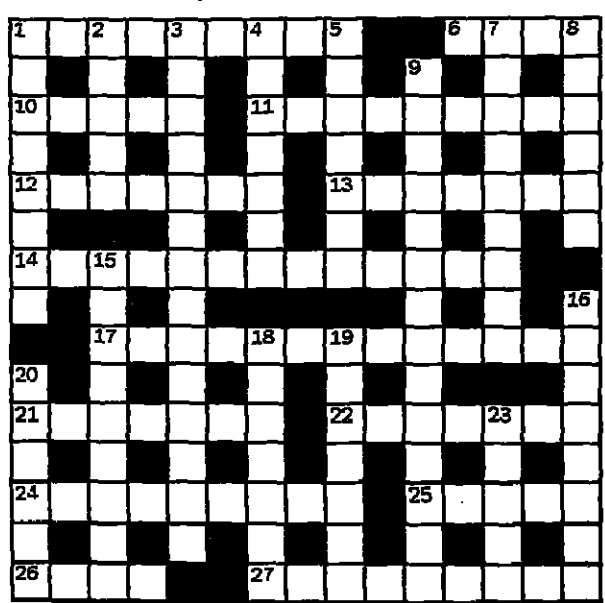
The club's chairman, Francis Lee, who personally conducted the negotiations with Kinkladze, said: "We are all absolutely delighted Georgi's staying with us." Colin Harvey, who has been working as No 2 at Burnley, is making a surprise return to Everton. Harvey's former role at the club, that of manager, is vacant, but he is being brought in to develop the youth side of the club. However, he will be the senior coach — as the rest of the staff have left.

## THE INDEPENDENT CROSSWORD

No. 3309, Tuesday 27 May

By Aisled

Monday's Solution



ACROSS  
1 Irish will get same backing on board which makes one tetchy (9)  
6 Old Max cat or a kitten on the keys? (4)  
10 Not inclined to write lines about first lady (5)  
11 Perhaps not made noble, indeed not rated at all? (9)  
12 Deception is small and saves energy (7)  
13 Insult a fellow to his face? (7)  
14 Might fast food be served here for dinner? (10,3)  
17 Showing off scholarship to one's master (13)  
21 Act badly — hard lines — it's terminal (7)  
22 Criticise article on queen which is cat? (7)

DOWN  
1 Endless mistreatment by old railway apparent (8)  
2 Clergyman puts on up-face? (7)  
3 They support the traditional method of sending messages (9,5)  
4 British lechers bluff (7)  
5 Fix Annie's wanderings to include Switzerland (7)

7 Mixture in tea container to dispense to right one (3,4)  
8 Provide too much material, swamping editor's calm (5)  
9 One deals with the better sort of racegoer? (4,10)  
15 Not believing plastic could be used round church (9)  
16 One male priest is working in jail? (8)  
18 Strong drink? (4,3)  
19 In afternoon divides up something to eat: sailors might need it (7)  
20 Agreement to produce type of electric flex (6)  
23 Man reportedly beats the spiral (5)

(Published by Newspaper Publishing PLC, 1 Canada Square, Canary Wharf, London E14 5DL, and printed at Mirror Colour Print, St Albans Road, Watford and Hammersmith Avenue, Oldham. Back issues available from Historic Newspapers, 01483 840370. Times 27 May 1997. Registered as a newspaper with the Post Office.)

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